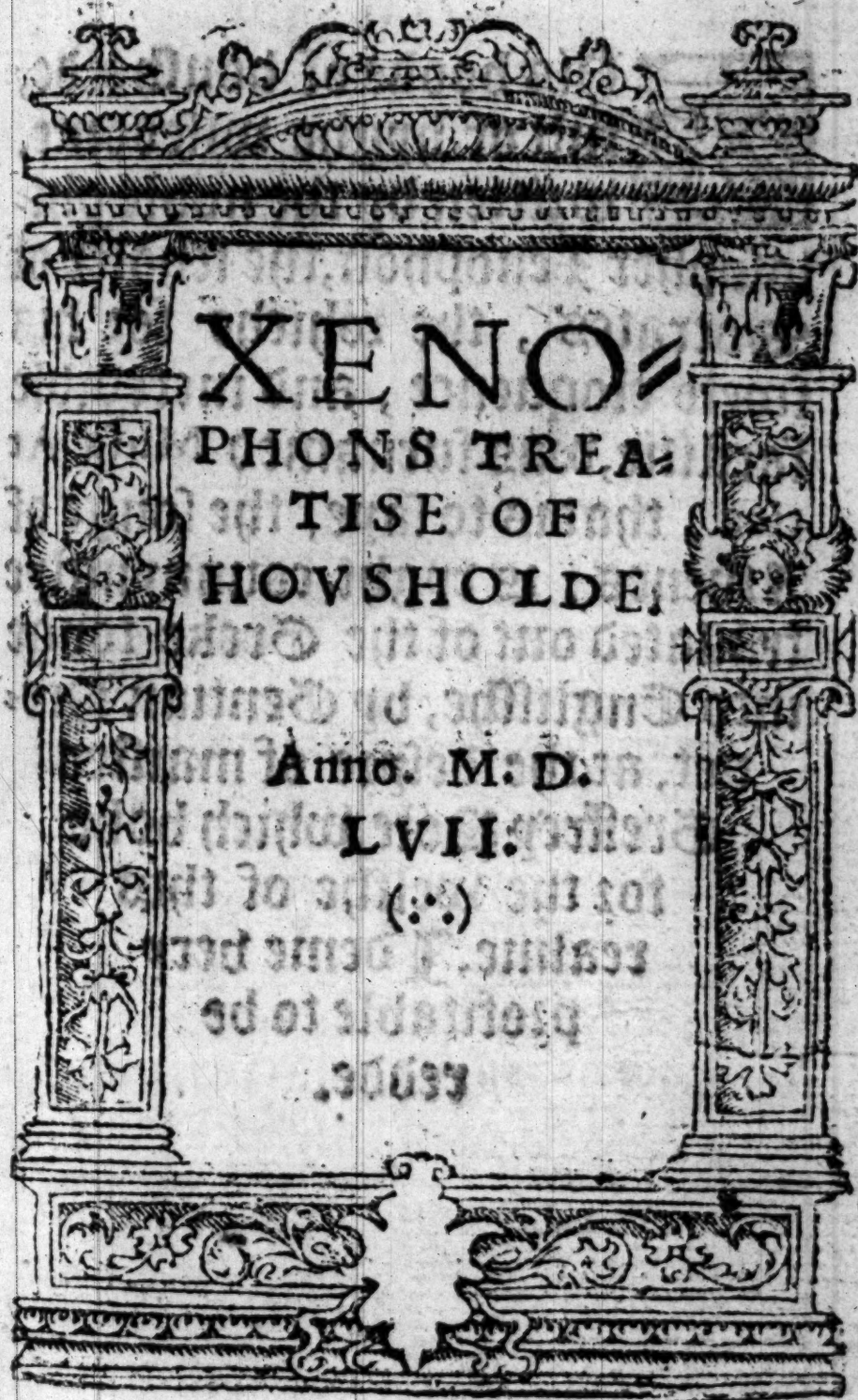


TO THE READER



**XENO-**  
**PHONS TREA-**  
**TISE OF**  
**HOVSHOLDE.**

Anno. M. D.

**LVII.**

(:.)

30037

## TO THE READER.



His booke of houtholde,  
full of hygge wisdomē,  
wzitten by the noble phi-  
losopher Xenophon, the scholer of  
Socrates, the whiche for his  
swete eloquence, and incredible  
facilitie, was surnamed Musa At-  
tica, that is to saye, the songe of  
Athenes: is ryght counnynglye  
trāslated out of the Greke tonge  
into Englische, by Gentian Her-  
uet, at the desyre of maister  
Gressrey Dole, which boke  
for the welthe of this  
realme, I deme very  
profitable to be  
redde.



XENOPHONS TREAS Fol. 15.  
tise of houlholde.



Harde vpb a time. the wisse  
Socrates commune of the  
ordring of an house, spea-  
king to one Critobulus, af-  
ter this maner. Telle me  
Critobulus, is the ordring of an house,  
the name of a science, likewise as phy-  
like is, and masons & carpenters craft?  
So me thinketh, sayde Critobulus.  
Whether than may we tel, what is the  
dutie, & the ppropze office, of the ordring  
of an house, like, likewise as we can tel  
of other craftes and sciences? We thin-  
keth, saide Critobulus, it longeth to a  
good husband, and a good order of an  
house, to guide wel and order his owne  
house. But yet sayd. So. If one did put  
him in trust, & charge him to order his  
house, coulde not he order it as well as  
his own, if he wold? For he that hath a  
carpenters craft well, he can worke as  
wel for an other as he can for him self, &  
may not a good husband, wel expert in  
the ordring of an house, dooe likewise?  
We thinketh yes, good Socrates. Tha  
a man, said Socrates, y is well sene in  
that sciēce, though he haue no substāce,

## Xenophons treatise

no; no goodes him selfe, may get his li-  
uyn g, and haue good wages, if he wyll  
order another mā's house, as wel as he  
that buyldeth an house. In good sayth,  
saide Critobul<sup>o</sup>, he were woꝛthy to haue  
bery good wages, if he could take ano-  
ther mans house in hand, and do euery  
thing y<sup>e</sup> belōgeth to it, & make the houle  
better in goodes & in substaunce. But  
what do we meane by the house, whe-  
ther is it nothing els but y<sup>e</sup> bare house,  
oꝛ whether all maner of thinges, that a  
man hath out of the house, be belōging  
to the house? We thinketh saide Crito.  
that although that, that a man hath, be  
not within the towne, where he dwel-  
leth, but in the countrey, oꝛ any where  
els, y<sup>e</sup> al doth belong to the house, what  
soeuer a mā hath. And be ther not some  
men, that haue enemies? Yes mary, & a  
great many to. And shal we say, y<sup>e</sup> their  
enemies be their goodes oꝛ substaunce? By  
my feith it were a mery iest, if he y<sup>e</sup> hath  
caused vs to haue no enemies than we  
had, wold haue a rewarde foꝛ it beside,  
foꝛ because we haue iuged a mā's house  
& that that a man hath, to be al one. We  
but I do not accompt that amōg a mā's  
substaunce & goodes, that is nought and  
hurt.



hurtful vnto him, but that that is good  
& profitable. Than as far as I se, ye cal  
that a mans goodes & substance, that is  
profitable vnto him? We maye do so, &  
suche thinges as be hurtful, I cal them  
domages & not goodes. And what if a  
man bye a horse, that he can not ryde,  
but fall down fro his backe, & so do him  
selfe a displeasure, is not that horse his  
goodes? No by my faye, seying those  
thinges be goodes that be good. Noz y  
ground than shall not be called goodes  
vnto a man, the whiche occupieth it so,  
that he hath damage by it. Noz y groun  
shall not be called goodes, if where y a  
man shuld be found & nozished by it, he  
dieth for hūger. Thā it fareth likewyse  
by shepe. If a mā hath any damage, by  
the reason that he can not guide them,  
noz order them as he shoulde, the shepe  
shall not be goodes vnto him? We thin-  
keth no. Than as farre as it semeth by  
you, ye call those thinges goodes y bee  
profitable, & those thinges that be hurt-  
ful be no goodes? So me thinketh. Thā  
one selfe thing shalbe called goodes vn-  
to him that can vse it as he shoulde, & to  
him y can not, it shalbe no goodes: like-  
wise as recozders be goodes vnto hym

A. iij.

that

## xenophons treatise

that can play on them somewhat according: but vnto him that can not, thei be no other wise good than stones, that be vnprofitable, except a man do sel them. And so likewise by the recorders, if we sell them, they be good: but if we kepe them, and can not occupie them, thei be no goodes. We must nedes agre in this tale, seing we haue said afoze, that those thinges, that be profitable, be goodes. For the recorders, as long as we kepe them vnsolde, thei be no goodes, for thei do vs no good: but if they be solde, they be goodes. ye mary said So. if one haue the wit to sel the wel. But if one do sell them, that can not order him self, euen whē thei be alredy sold, they be no goodes, according to your tale. We thiketh ye say by Socr. that noz yet money nother is goodes, except a man can vse it. Some thinketh, ye haue graūted alredy, y<sup>t</sup> those thinges be called goodes, that a mā getteth any p<sup>r</sup>ice by. But if a mā did bestowe his money v<sup>p</sup> a harlot, & that by the reason of dayly cōuersatiō with her, his body were y<sup>e</sup> weaker, his soule the worse disposed, & his house the worse kept & ordred, howe shuld money be profitable vnto hym? It can not be  
in



in no caſe, except peraduenture we will  
call our goodes a popſon, y<sup>e</sup> which whā  
a mā doth eate of it, it bzingeth him out  
of his wife. But as for money, ſrēd Crī-  
tobulus, if a man can not ble it, as he  
ſhuld, let him caſt it away far frō hym.  
For it is nother pfitable vnto him, nor  
may be called goodes. But as for fren-  
des, if a mā can ble thē, ſo y<sup>e</sup> he get ſome  
profite of them, what ſhal we ſaye that  
they be? Goodes ſorſoth, ſayde Crīto. &  
muche moze than thepe or oren, ſeinge  
they be a gret deale moze pfitable. Thā  
accozding to your tale, our enemies like  
wyſe be goodes vnto him, that can get  
profite of them. So me thinketh. And it  
is a point thā of a good huſbād, & a good  
order of an houſe, to haue away, to ble  
his enemies ſoo, that he may get ſome  
profite by thē. In any caſe. For ye ſee  
wel inoughe, good Crīto. howe many  
mean mē's houſes, & how many lordes  
& kinges dominions haue ben increaſed  
& amplified by y<sup>e</sup> reaſō of war. Forſoth  
ſy? So. me thinketh ye haue very well  
ſpoken in this matter, but what thinke  
you by this, whan y<sup>e</sup> we ſe y<sup>e</sup> ſome men,  
which haue ſciēces, good wages, & good  
ppreties wherby thei might make their

A. iiii.

houſes

## Xenophons treatise

houses the better, if thei wold put them self to it: yet we may wel se & perceiue, they wold not do it. And therfore we se, that the sciences & good pperties, y thei haue auayle the nothyng: whether thā shal those sciences, that thei haue be accounted for their goodes & substance, or for some what els: We sayde Socra. me thinketh, ye meane that, by bōd men, & by some vile persōs. No by my seyth I: but I speake of some of the, that be honest mens sonnes & gentilmens to, the whiche I se, that some of them, that be expert both in those thinges, that lōg to warre, & also to peace, yet they wol not put them selves to none of the. And me thinketh, they shuld be in a better case, if they were bond men. For I suppose, that they do not that that thei shuld, for because they lacke maisters to put the to it. How can that stande, said Socra. that they haue no maisters, whan that they despyng to lyue in welthe and felicitie, and minded to do that that wold be for their profit: their lordes and superiours do let them, that thei shal not do it: And what be they, sayd Critobulus, that be inuisible, & yet orde the thus: Nay they be not all soo inuisible, no, I wis



It wis they be clere inoughe to euerpe  
mā's sight. And ye know wel your selfe  
they be moſte vngacious & moſte miſe  
cheuous of al, if ſlouthfulnes, ſuggar  
diſe, lacke of ſtomacke and quickenelle  
lacke of takyng hede, and alſo negligē  
ce may be take for vngaciousnes. And  
beſide theſe, there be other deceitfull la  
dies, the which do come in vnder y<sup>e</sup> co  
lour & name of pleaſures, playenge at  
dice & cardes, vnproſitable triſtyng &  
keppynge company with vnchriſtians, the  
whiche in proces of tyme do thew plain  
ly vnto they<sup>r</sup> adherentes, by the decei  
ued, that amōg pleaſures, there is ſome  
ſwe & ſome ſorrowe myngled. Theſe la  
dies kepe the<sup>m</sup> ſo in ſeruage & thraldome  
y<sup>e</sup> they can not be ſuffred to do nothing,  
that is for they<sup>r</sup> proſpyte. Ne but there  
be ſome other, good Socra, the whiche  
haue no ſuch, to let them fro their buſi  
nes, but rather applye the<sup>m</sup> ſelfes wel fa  
uorably to they<sup>r</sup> buſines, & ſeke & imagin  
all the waies poſſible to get them good  
with al: yet they do ſtroy the<sup>m</sup> ſelfes, mi  
niſhe their liuelode & diſtroy their hou  
ſes. And as concerning to finde any re  
medy, they be at they<sup>r</sup> wyttes endes.  
And they alſo, ſayde Socrates, be lyke  
wyſe

## Xenophons treatise

Wisse bōdemen, as other be, & haue ouer  
them very soze & cruell felowes to their  
maysters. Some of them be in þ̄ thral-  
dome of glotonye, some of licozousnes,  
some of drōkennes, some of vaine pride  
& costlly bayne gloze, the whiche kepe  
their subiectes so soze in seruitude and  
bondage, that as long as they se them  
yōg & lustie, & able to worke, they make  
thē to byp̄nge them all that euer they cā  
get to bestowe it vpon their lustis & plea-  
sures. But whan they perceyue, they  
be so old, that they can not worke, then  
they let them alone with a mischiese, to  
liue wretchedly in their old age, & seke  
other; ȳ they may byp̄nge into their ser-  
uice like wyle. But it behoueth gentyll  
Critobulus, to strue & fight with them  
for our own libertie, none other wise,  
than we wolde with thē, the which, w̄  
naked swordes & weapōs in their han-  
des, go about to byp̄ng vs in to thraldo-  
me & seruitude. Enmies, if that they be  
god honest mē, whā they haue brought  
some men into their subiection, they  
cause man to be moch better, teaching  
them to be reuly & tēperate, ȳ afore wer  
to hygh mynded and to fierce. But as  
for these ladies, they neuer ceste, but be  
euer.



euermoze punishing, beating, and tormenting the bodies, the soules, and the houses of the that they haue vnder: and that they do as longe as they be their maystrelles. Then Critobulus sayde vnto hym after this maner. As for this matter me thinketh, I haue harde you speke sufficiently in it. And whan I grope & serche wel my conscience, I find that me thinketh, I can very wel refraine al maner of such thinges. Wherefore if ye wyl giue me counsaill, howe I maye do, to encrease & make my honours better, I thinke, I shall be nothinge let of the that ye call ladies. And therefore tell me with a good wil, if ye haue any goodnes in this matter. Or els ye thynke parauenture, y we be riche inoughe, & nede no moze goodes. By my faith, said Socrates, in ded, if ye speake of me, I nede no moze goodes, but I am rich inoughe. But as for you Critobulus, me thynketh ye be very pooze. And by y seyth I owe to god, I haue sometimes gret pite of you. Than Critobulus laughing saide: And I pray you for goddis sake, if al your goodes were sold what shulde ye haue for them? And what shulde I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them?

## Xenophons treatise

I thinke, sayd Socrates, y if I might  
mete w a good byer, I shulde haue wel  
foz my house, & foz al my goodes a. v. oz  
vi. marke. But as foz yours, I knowe  
bery well, y ye shulde haue an hundred  
tymes moze. And ye that know this, do  
ye thinke your selfe, y ye lacke no moze  
goodes, & haue pite of me, bicause of mi  
ponerte. Foz y that I haue is sufficient  
inough to fynde me that that is necessa  
ry. But foz to meintein your state, and  
the worlthyp, y ye haue taken bpō you,  
me semethe, that yf ye had foure tymes  
as moch moze, as ye haue, it were not  
inoughe. And howe so, said Critobul?  
I than sayde Socrates: Fyyst of al I se,  
that ye must nedes make many feasts  
& many great bankettes, oz the people  
wyl skate abyde the sight of you. Moze  
ouer ye must receiue into your houses  
many strāgers, & intreate the honora  
bly, keping good hospitalitie. Further  
moze, ye must byd many mē to dyner, &  
do them some pleasure, oz elles at your  
nede, ye shal haue no man to helpe you.  
Mozeouer, I perceiue, y y cite of Athe  
nes beginneth to put you to many gret  
charges, as to fynde hozses, to helpe to  
bulde thinges lōging to y cite, to make  
musters



musters of mē, to cause goodly pageātes to be made, and goodly playes to be plaide. But if there come in war ones, I am sure, they wyll haue so moch more frō you, what in taxes, what in subsidies, & what in preastis, ȳ ye shal scāt be able to bere it. And if ye seims to paye somwhat lesse thā your power is, they wol punish you as soze, as though they had foude you robbinge the cōmō treasury. Beside this, I se ȳ ye haue this opinion ȳ ye be riche & that ie care not to get no more goodes, & ȳ ye gyue your selfe to baine and chylde the pleasures, as ye may well do, The whiche thynges do moue me to haue cōpassion of you, fearynge lest ye fal into some mylfortune, & into great pouertye without any remedye. And as for me, if I had nede, I trowe ye knowe veri wel, that there be many, ȳ wolde helpe me: in so moch ȳ if they gaue me but euery mā a littel, I shulde haue moze thā ȳ degree of my liuing doth require. But as for your frēdes, althoughe they haue moze to kepe thē in their degre, thā ye haue for yours: yet they loke, ȳ ye shulde helpe theym. Thā saide Cryptobul<sup>o</sup>, I haue nothing to say agaynst you in this matter; But  
it is

## Xenophons treatise

it is tyme for you to instruct me wyth  
some good pzeceptes, to thintent y I be  
not so miserable in dede, y ye may haue  
cōpassion on me w a good cause. Than  
saide Socrates: Do not ye thinke your  
selfe, that ye do a verye strange, and a  
meruailous thing, y but a praty while  
ago, whan I sayde, that I was riche,  
ye lough at me, as though I knew not  
what riches mened, & neuer stinted, til  
ye had put me to a rebuke, & made me  
to cōfesse, y I had not the hūdzeth part  
of that, that ye haue, & now ye byd me  
to instructe you & set my diligence, y ye  
be not poore in veriy dede. For I se wel  
good So. said Critobulus, y ye haue in  
you the caste, to make a man riche in  
dede, y is to make him haue plentie and  
abundaunce. And I truste, he that of a  
littel thing can make plētie & abundan-  
ce, shal do it moch moze lighelier of ma-  
ny great thinges. ¶ Be ye not remem-  
bred of our comuning a praty while a-  
go, whan I coude in no case contrary  
your sayinge, that to hym y can not vse  
horses, horses be no goodes vnto hym,  
noz lāde, noz shepe, noz money, noz no-  
thinge els, & yet of suche thinges a man  
may get great profite & vātage: But as  
for



for me, how do ye thinke, y I can vse or  
 order suche thinges, y had neuer none:  
 But me thought, y although a mā had  
 nother money, nor goodes, yet there  
 was a certaine science of gyding & ord-  
 ring of an house. And what letteth you  
 that ye may not haue the same science?  
 Loke what doth let a man to playe bpō  
 recozders, if nother he had neuer none  
 him selfe, nor bozowed none of no body  
 the selfe same impedimēt haue I in the  
 ordyng of an hous. For I neuer had  
 nother instrumentes, that is goodes &  
 money of min owne, to lerne by it, nor  
 there was neuer no bodi, y charged me  
 w his goodes to ouerse them or to ordre  
 the, except ye parauēture be disposed to  
 do. But ye knowe wel, y thei that lerne  
 first to play vpon an harpe, they spil the  
 harpe, so if I shulde now lerne on your  
 household, how to kepe an house, I am  
 a ferde, lest I shulde destruy your house  
 Ya, ye go aboute very busily & redily to  
 auoide, y ye wol not helpe me to beare,  
 & susteyne wyth me parte of my busy-  
 nes. Be my saye, that do I not: I woll  
 be glad with all myne harte, to shewe  
 you al y euer I can. But I thinke this  
 y if ye came to my house for some tyme,  
 and

## Xenophons treatise

& I had none, if I brought you to another place, where ye myghte haue some ye wolde not be displeased w<sup>th</sup> me. And if ye came, and asked me water, & I hade none, yf I brought you into a place, where ye myghte drawe some, ye could not blame me. And if ye wolde, that I shulde teache you musicke if I did shew you other mē, moze expert in it, than I am my selfe, & y<sup>e</sup> wolde be gladd & faine to teache you, what could ye blame me, if I did so? I could not do it with a good cause. Therfore I wil shewe you y<sup>e</sup> these thinges, whiche ye desyre so instancly of me, y<sup>e</sup> there be other men moze cunning, & moze experte in the than I am. And this I grāt you, that I haue had a great minde to knowe, which were the moste counnyng, & the mooste experte in al the citie. For whā I did sometime considre, that in one worke, one busynes, & one thyng doynge some wared very pooze, & somme very riche, I marvelled, & me thought, it was a thyng to be wel considered, howe that shulde be. And thus consideryng, I found, y<sup>e</sup> this happened none oterwyse, then y<sup>e</sup> thing it selfe & reason wolde. For I sawe that they that be haied them selves rashely  
in



in their busines, had damage & losse by  
it: and they that with discretion witte &  
good aduilement applie their busines,  
broughte their matters too passe more  
quickely, more easely, & with more auā-  
tage. Of the whiche I thinke y<sup>e</sup> may  
lerne, & so by the grace of God, come to  
be a very riche man, with muche wy-  
ning & lucre. Nowe by my seyth I wyl  
neuer let you be in reite, vntil the time  
ye shew afoze these frendes of yours, y<sup>e</sup>  
ye speake of, that that ye haue promised  
me. But what woulde ye saye, if I did  
shewe you some men, the whiche haue  
builded fo: very muche money, vnprofi-  
table houses, wout any good cast, or any  
good comoditie: & other y<sup>e</sup> fo: lesse coste  
a gret dele, haue made houses, lacking  
nothing that longeth to an house, wyl  
ye not say y<sup>e</sup> I do shew you a point of a  
good order of an house: Yes verely said  
Cricobulus. What if I shewe you nere  
and acco:dinge to the same, that some  
men haue muche housholde stuffe, and  
of all sortes, and whan they haue nede  
of it, thei can not vse it, but it is to seche  
and they can not telle whether it be lost  
or saue leide by: And fo: this cause they  
be wonderly greued in their myndes,

## Xenophons treatise

and bere & trouble their seruantes & nothing elles. And also other men, the whiche haue no moze, but rather lesse, haue euery thyng redy at hand, whan they haue nede of it. What shuld be the cause of it, gentil Soc. but that the one doth caste aside euery thyng fooly & without any order: and the tother laith by euery thyng in his place? There ye sayd wel, said Soc. And he not only setteth euery thing in his place, but also in suche a place as is mete and couentent to set it in. He semeth, said Cri. that ye saye, that this also is a point of a good order of an house. And what if I shew you, that in one place al the bondmen & seruantes be tied fast, & yet they renne away often times: and in another place they be loosed, willing to abyde & labour with al their hartes, will ye not thynke this a good point of a house keper, woorthy to be looked vpon? Yes mary, sayde Crito. & very woorthy to be looked vpon. And what if I shew you housband me, of the whiche some complaine and say, that they die for hunger, for al ther husbandry, and some that haue plentie of all maner of thynges necessary, by the reason of their housebandry. Ye mary, sayd



ſaid Cri. paradiſure thei beſſow their  
money & their goodes, not where they  
ſhould, but in ſuch thynges as be hurt-  
full both to theim and their houſes. In  
dede there be ſome ſuche ſayd Soc. but  
I do not ſpeke of them, but of thoſe, the  
whiche call them ſelfe huſbandemen, &  
yet they can ſcant get their meate and  
their drinckes. And what ſhoulde be the  
cauſe of this gentill Soc. I will brynge  
you vnto them ſaid Soc. & whan ye ſee  
them, than ſhal ye lerne. Marp that wil  
I, if that I can, ye but firſt muſt ye pue  
your ſelfe, if ye ſhalbe able to know it,  
whan ye ſe them. It comineth into my  
mynde now, y pe wold riſe very perly,  
and goe a great waye, to ſee enterludes  
plaide, & that ye wold intreate me nedes  
to go with you, but ye neuer bad me to  
ſuch a ſight. Thā ye thinke, mine owne  
So. that I am worthy to be laughed to  
ſcorne of you. ye but of your ſelfe much  
more. But what if I do ſhew you ſome  
men the which by the reaſon of keeping  
of hozſes, haue ben brought to extreme  
pouerte, & other, the which by y reaſon  
of it, haue made theim ſelues riche mē,  
and haue gotten ſo gret ſubſtāce, y thei  
liue lyke lozdes? I haue ſeene them,

B. ij.

and

## Xenophons treatise

and I know them both, but I haue neuer the more vantage for y. The cause of it is, that ye beholde them likewise, as ye loke vpon y plaiers of enterludes, not to thintent that ye may be a Poete, but for a pastime & a recreation. And peradventure ye do wel in that, for ye be not minded to be a poete: but where ye be cōpelled to kepe & finde hozses, wil ye not iudge your selfe a foole, if ye go not about to study a remedy, that ye be not ignozant in that behalfe, seing that the selfe same thinges be good to the vse, & profitable to be solde: your mynd is y I should breke hozses? No by my faith it, no more than if ye woulde haue a good laborer, I wold geue you cōsel to brig him vp of a chyld. But there be ages both of hozses & of mē, the which be immediately profitable, & do daily so grow, that they do more good one daye than another. Furthermore I can shew you some mē, the whiche haue so vled & ordered their wiues, that they comfort the and help the towarde the increasing of their house: & some that haue such wyues, the which destroy vtterly y house, and so the most part of men haue. But who is to be blamed for this, y housbād or the



oz the wise, good Socra. A sheepe, if it  
doe not wel, for the moste part we dco  
blame the sheperd. And a horse moste  
comonly, if he be skittishe, & do some dis  
pleasure, we blame hys breker. And a wife  
like wise, if her husband teache her wel  
if she do not folowe it, she is pauer  
to blame. But if he do not teache her, if  
she be rude, but womanly, & wytle, is  
not he to be blamed? yes by my seyrthe,  
said Cri. And seing that we be frendes, &  
may speke plainly betwene our selues,  
is there euer any other wise man, that  
ye trust and charge so muche in youre  
busines, as ye dooe your wyfe? No for  
soth saide he. And is there any, that ye  
comune lesse with, then ye do with her?  
No by my seith, & if there be any, they  
be very few. We married her very yong,  
whan she had neither seene nor harde  
much of the worlde. Wherefore it were  
more to be meruailed at, if she knewe &  
did as she should, than if she did amisse.  
Crito. They the whiche ye saye, haue  
good wyues, haue they taught them so  
in dede? Socra. It is a thing not to stand  
long vpon. For I wil bring you my wyfe  
Aspasia, the whiche shal shewe you all  
this better than I my self. But me thin  
kerth

## Xenophons treatise

keeth y a wife, being a good cōpanion, & a good felow to her hulband in a house, is very necessary, and within a littel as much worth as the husbände. For commonly gooddes & substance doe come in to the house by the labour and peine of the man, but the woman is she for the most part, that kepeth and bestoweth it, where nede is. And if these two thiges stande wel together, & be wel ordeined, the houses do increase, if not, they must nedes decay. Moreover me thinketh, y I can shew you in all sciences them, y do worke & labour, accordyng as they should, if ye thinke that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherse theim al good Socrates, sayde Critobulus: For it is nother possible for a mā to haue worke, men of al faculties, suche as should be, nor him selfe to be expert in all. But as for suche sciences, as be moste honora- ble, & may become me well to occupie theim, theim I wold ye did shewe me, & also those men, the whiche applie them selves vnto them. And ye of your syde helpe to teache me, & further me in the as muche as ye can. ye speake very wel friend Critobu. said Socra. For suche craftes as be called handy craftes, they be



be very abiet & vile, and littel regarded  
and eſtmed in cities & cōmon welthes:  
foz they do deſtroy the bodieſ of thoſe  
that do occupie them, whā they make  
them to ſyt euermoze at home, & to be  
fedde by alwaie in the ſhade, and ſome  
make them to ſtande al the day ſtaryng  
on the fyze. And whan the body is ones  
tender and feble, the ſtomake & ſpirits  
muſt nedes ware a great deale the we-  
ker. And againe, thei haue ſmal leſſure  
to ſet their mynde and diligence to doe  
their friendes any good, noz alſo the cō-  
mon welth. **W**herfoze ſuche men ſemie  
to bee but a ſmall comfozte to their  
friendes at a neede, noz no good men to  
ſuccoure their countrey in tyme of ieo-  
pardy. And foz a ſuertie, in ſome cities  
and common welthes, and ſpeciall ye  
ſuch as be daily in warre, it is not lau-  
ful to neuer a cyteſen to occupie no hā-  
dy craſte. And what faculties wyl ye  
counſaile me to uſe, gentill Socrates?  
Socra. Let not vs thynke ſcozne, noz  
be aſhamed to ſolowe the kynge of the  
Perſis. Foz they ſay, that he ſuppoſing  
the ſcience of warre, and alſo of houſe-  
bandry to be moſte honourable, & alſo  
neceſſary among other faculties, doeth

B. iij.

regarde

## Xenophons treatise

regard & exercise them wondrously. And whan Crito. harde that he said: Do ye thinke, that the kinge of Persia careth any thyng for husbandry? If we consider it after this maner, said Socra. we shal peradventure come to knowlage, whether he doth or not. For every man graunteth, that he setteth soze his study vpon suche thinges, as long to war. For it is appointed to every lieutenaunte & lordes of the countreis vnderneath him, how many men of armes, Moysespikes, billes, archers, & crosbowes, they shall haue redy in their wages, either to kepe his subiectes from rebellion for feare, or to kepe the countrey, if enemies doe inuade it. Besyde these, he layeth garisons in all the towres and castels, and there is a capitaine appointed to paye them truly their wages and to see that there be no faulte in it. And the kynge causeth every. xii. monthe the musters to be made of all the that be in his wages, & be appoited to be redy in harnais at any time, & so bringeth them all together, those reserued y be in garisons into a place, y they cal the place of cōgregation. And suche as be nigh his manour & his dwelling place, he ouerlooketh



keeth the hym selfe. But they y dwell in  
farre countreys, he sendeth thither some  
y he trusteth best, to haue the ouer sight  
of them. And those heades, rulers, & ca-  
pitaynes, whether they haue many or  
fewe vnder the if they bring forth their  
ful nobze, that is appointed vnto them,  
wel harnessed, & well horsed, & well fur-  
nished of al maner of thinges he giueth  
very great prayse & honour to the lieutenantes  
& to the lordes, & giueth them  
many great gyftes & and rewardes, so  
that they be riche for euer. But whan  
he findeth, y his lordes, his lieutenan-  
tes, & deputies haue no regarde to the  
capitaines of his sondours, but catche  
and pul, & care but only for theyr owne  
vantage, he punisheth the soze, he put-  
teth them out of their officis & setteth  
other in their stede. In doinge those  
thinges, there is no man y douteth but  
y he applieth his minde & his study veri  
soze to warre. But beside this, al the co-  
treys, y is therby, where he dwelleth, he  
rideth aboute hym selfe, takyng hede &  
markyng howe it is tilled & laboured.  
But whan a countrey is so farre of, that  
he can not com to se it hym selfe, he send-  
eth them, that he trusteth best, to ouer  
se it.

## Xenophons treatise

le it. And whan he findeth, y his lieutenantes & deputies do kepe the countree wel inhabited, the ground well plowed & laboured, ful of such trees as the countrey wyl beare, he promoteth the to the rule of moze countrees, he geueth them gret p̄sentes, & doth the great honour. But whan he findeth the cōtreȝ desert & vnhabited, the grounde vntilled and vnlaboured, bicause of their negligence, wzonges doing, extorsions, & cruelties, he punisheth them, he putteth the out of their offices, and setteth other in their rowmes. In doing these thinges, do ye thynke, that he setteth the lesse bys mynde to haue his countree well replenyshed of dwellers, & wel tilled & laboured, then y souldiours shulde defende it wel? Howeuer, of the lieutenantes & deputies, y he hath, One man hath not the charge of two thinges at ones. For some of theim be appointed to haue the ouersight of the housband mē & labourers, & to gether tythes and tributes of them. And there be other, that haue the ouersight of the souldiours, and of the garison. And if the lyentenaunt of the garison do not his duete, in keping and defending the countrey, he y is the lieutenante



tenaunte of the husbände men & labourers, accuseth the tother lieutenant, that they can not plye their worke for lacke of good defence. But if the lieutenant of the garison doth his duetie, & kepeth the cōtre in peace, so y they may work at theyr pleasure, and the lieutenant of the hōusbād men doth not se to the cōtre, that it be wel in habited, and y thō housbände men applye theyr worke as they shulde, than the lieutenant of the garysō accuseth him agayne. For whā the houseband men do not labour well, the souldiours can scant gette vittalles, nor the king can haue his tribute. And in sonne countreis of Persia, a great lord, y they cal Satrapa, occupieth the rowme of both lieutenantes. Than spake Critobulus, & sayde: If the kyng doth, as ye saye, he taketh as moch hede to housbandrye, as he dothe to warre. Socrates. Moreouer, in what so ever cuntry he lieth, and where so ever he maketh his abydyng, he setteth his minde to haue goodly fayre gardenes, that they call in theyr tongue Paradyse, full of all maner of thynges, that the earthe byrngeth forth. And ther he bydeth for the moste part as longe as the tyme

## Xenophons treatise

tyme of the yere doth not lette hym.

**T**han by my sayth, saied Critobul<sup>o</sup>,  
seyng that he bideth there him selfe, he  
must nedes do his diligēce, y these gar-  
dynes may be as fayre & as goodly, as  
can be, well replenishe with trees, & al  
maner of thinges, that y earth cā bzing  
forth. And also some saye, good Crito-  
bulus, saied Socrates, that whan the  
king geueth any rewardes, y he calleth  
thē first, that haue behaued theim selves  
manli in the warres, because it were to  
none effect, to tyll & labour the ground,  
except there were some, that shulde de-  
fēd it. And next to theim he calleth those  
that haue prouided y the countrey shuld  
not be ydell, but well occupied & labour-  
ed, sayng, y the valiant men of warre  
coud not lyue, if y good labourers were  
not. And they say, y Cypus the whiche  
hath ben a very famous, & an excellent  
kyng. sayed vpon a tyme vnto thē, that  
he called vnto hym, to geue thē rewar-  
des, that he hym selfe was well worthy  
to haue the rewardes of theym both.

Foz he saied, y he was very good both  
to se the countrey well laboured, & also  
to kepe & defende it. Fozsoth, saied Cri-  
tobul<sup>o</sup>, yf Cypus dyd say so, he did shew  
playnly,



playnly, that he had as great pleasure,  
that the countrey shoulde be well occu-  
pied, as to haue good men of war. **Soc.**  
By my saythe, yf **Cyzus** had lyued, he  
wold haue proued a very noble prince:  
& of that he shewed many greate & eny-  
dent tokens at dyuers tymes, & among  
the tother, whan he came forth against  
hys brother, to trye by battayle, who  
shoulde be kyng. For they say, that frō  
**Cyzus** no mā fled to y kyng, but many  
thousandes left the kyng to come and  
serue **Cirus**. And me thinketh this is a  
greate argument of a princis vertue,  
whā men do obey him with their owne  
good wyll, & be glad to abyde with hym  
in tyme of ieopardy. For **Cyzus** frend-  
des stode fighting about him whyles he  
was yet alyue, & whan he was slayne,  
they fighting most valiantly were slay-  
ne al beside him, except **Arie**, y whiche  
was set in the left wyng. This gentyl  
**Cyzus**, whā **Lyfander** came to him, to  
bryng him prseltes fro y cittes of grece  
cōfederated vnto him, they saie, as **Ly-**  
**sander** shewed him selfe to a frēd of his  
in the towne of **Megara**, y he receyued  
him w much humanitee, & amōg other  
thinges he shewed him a gardeine that  
was

## Xenophons treatise

was called the Parado of Sardis. But whā Lysander began to meruaile at it, because y trees were so fayre & so egal-ly sette, and the orders of the trees laye streyght one against an other, & made goodly angles & coznars wel ppropoztio-  
ned, & manye swete & pleasant saouurs came to their noses, whan they were walking, he wondzing ther vpon sayed thus: Forsoth Cyrus, y gret beautiful-  
nes of these thinges is a great meruaile to me, but I woder much moze of him, that hath measured & set the thus in or-  
der. Thā Cyrus, whā he herd this, did reioyce & say: Al these that ye se, I haue measured them, & and sette theim in or-  
der, & I can shewe pou some trees, y I haue set with myne own handes. And  
Lysander whan he had loked vpō him, & beholden his goodly apparail, & felt y good saour y came from it, & the esti-  
mable faitrenesse of his golden chaines, his rynges, & his pzeious stones, saied  
What saue ye Cyrus, haue ye sette any of these in your owne hādes? Thā Cy-  
rus answered. Doe ye meruaile of this Lysander? By the seythe y I owe to god, whan I am wel at ease, I neuer go to diner, vnto the time I haue done  
some



some what, either in feates of armes, or  
in some poynte of housebandy, till I  
sweate. Than, when Xylander heard  
this, he toke him by the hande & sayed:  
We thinketh Cyzus, ye be fortunat not  
without a cause. For ye be fortunat  
beyng a good man. And this I reherse  
vnto you mine owne Critobulus, said  
Socrates, for this cause, y<sup>e</sup> ye may see, y<sup>e</sup>  
they y<sup>e</sup> be riche and fortunat, ca<sup>n</sup> not wel  
kepe theim frō housebandy. For it is  
suche an exercise, & such a busines, that  
a man may haue pleasure in it, both to  
encrease, & multiply his goodes, and al  
so to exercyse the booy so, that it shal be  
able to dooe all maner of thynges that  
belong to an honest man to dooe. For  
firste of all, the grounde bringeth forth  
al suche maner of thynges, that a man  
is fedde and nourysed with, & it bryn-  
geth forth also such thynges, that a mā  
maie haue pleasure by it. Moreover, it  
geueth vs al such thynges, as we neede,  
to trymme and dresse the auters & yma-  
ges with all, and that with most plea-  
saunte syghes and saours. Further-  
more, of meates necessary for mannes  
ble, some it bryngethe by it selfe, and  
some it nourysethe. For the craft  
of

## Xenophons treatise

of keepyng of sheepe is annexed to house  
bandy, so that we may vse them at our  
owne pleasure. And though it geueth  
vs plentie of al maner of thinges, yet it  
doth not suffer vs together them to sof-  
tenes and tendernes, but vseth vs to be  
hard & stronge, in winter by the reason  
of the colde, & in sommer by the reaso of  
the heate. And as for them, the whiche  
do labour with theyr owne handes, yt  
maketh them bygge & myghtye, & they  
that occupy housebandye but onely w  
ouer lokyng and takyng hede to other  
mens warkes, it quickeneth & maketh  
them lyke men, makynge them to ryse  
early in the mornynge, and causynge  
them to walke a great waye. For bothe  
in the felde & also in the cities, every  
thyng that a man doth to any purpose,  
must nedes be done in time & in season.  
Moreover, if he wil be a horseman, and  
beset his countre on horsebacke, a horse  
maye no where be better fedde than in  
the countre. And if he wyl be a foote-  
ma, housebandye maketh a man strong  
boded, & causeth hym to exercise hym  
selfe going a huntynge, whan it gyueth  
lyghtlye meate to the dogges, and the  
grounde byngeth by and nourysseth  
wyldc



wylde beastes. And the, hōrles, and lyke  
wylde the dogges, th<sup>o</sup> holpen by the way  
of husbandry, do agayne some seruyce to  
the groundes. For the hōrse beareth hym  
yerly in the moynge, that wylle the  
ground be not let alone vntilled and vn-  
trimmed, and at nyght beareth hym  
home agayne, yf he tary neuer so late.

And the dogges kepe a waye wylde bea-  
stes, that they spyll not y<sup>e</sup> fruite, and kille  
the shepe, and make a man to be sure in a  
wyldernes. More ouer, it cōfōrteth and  
stirreth husband men to be holde, and to  
stande manly to defend theyr countrey,  
seing it leaueth the fruytes abrode in the  
plaine to be vled of him that is stronger.

And what facultie wyl make a mā more  
apte to renne, to shoot, and also to leape,  
than husbandry? What science yeldeth  
more again to thē that do labour? What  
sciēce receyuethe hym, that is studious,  
with greater pleasure, seing whā he co-  
meth, it gyueth hym leaue to take what  
he wyl? Where shal a straūger be better  
welcomed to make him good chere wher  
shal a mā haue better comoditie to kepe  
his winter with fire inough and hot ba-  
thes? And where is more pleasant dwel-  
lyng, for goodly waters, gentyl wyndes.

C. l.

and

## Xenophons treatise

The wyfe  
of husband  
12.

and shadowe, than in the fieldes? Where  
may a mā make better feastes, and more  
triumphant banquettes? What other pla  
ce do seruantes loue better? What other  
place doth a wyfe lyke more? Where do  
chylde desire more to be? Where be fre  
des better receyued, and gladder to be?  
For to he me thinketh it a marueylous  
thyng, yf any honest man can fynd any  
substance, that he delpecth more in, or yf  
he can fynde any occupacio rather more  
pleasante than this is, or more profyta  
ble for his lyfynge. And moreover, the  
grouse teacheth his Justice, yf they haue  
the wyfe to lerne it. For they that do so  
it, and haue care for it, it rewardeth the,  
with farre more moche. And if they, that  
haue ben brought uppe in housebandry,  
by some sodaine chaunce of enemyes, they  
that be lordes of the countrey can not til  
the grounde, they may go into theyr en  
myes with theyr eyes, seynge they haue ben  
wel & hardly brought by, and gette there  
as moche, yf god be not against them, as  
wyl suffice them to lyue with. And it is  
often tymes more sure to seke for bys ly  
ving in tyme of warre, with weapons of  
warre, than w instruments of husban  
dry. Housebandrye also teacheth men to  
helpe



helpe one an other. If we wil go to war:  
 te: we must haue men, noz the grounde  
 can not be laboured without men. And  
 therfoze he that wyl be a good housband  
 man, he muste get him good lusty worke  
 men, & willing to do after hym and obey  
 him. And the selfe same thing he must go  
 about to byrnyng to passe, y leadeth an ar-  
 my to fight against his enemies, gevinge  
 great rewardes vnto them, that he haue  
 the selves like good valiant me, & punish  
 them y be stobbozne, & wil not be ordred.  
 And he that is a good housband, must as  
 often tymes cal vpon his labourers, and  
 comfort them, as the capitayne doth his  
 souldiours. And bounde men haue as  
 great nede to be comforted, and meinte-  
 ned with good hope, as other fre men, y  
 rather moze, to thende they ren not a-  
 way, but be glad to byde stil. And surely  
 he sayde very well, that called housbandry  
 the mother & the nourice of al other scie-  
 ces. For yf housbandry doth stand well:  
 all other scieces and faculties do the bet-  
 ter: But if the ground be barain, and can  
 beate no fruyte: all other sciences be all  
 most spilled bothe by see and by land.  
 When Critobulus hadde herde this: he  
 spake after th<sup>e</sup> maner: We thike the good

## Xenophons treatise

Socrat. Ye speke very well in this matter. But ye know verie wel, that the most part of suche thynges, as long to housebandy, a man can not cast theym afoze hād. For oftentimes haile stones, drought, or continual rayne, myste, or vermyne, that cate by the sede that is in the ground, do put vs beside our intent and purpose, yf it were neuer so good. And thepe lyke wise, if they be in neuer so good pasture, there cometh a sickenes, that destroyeth them all. Socra. whan he hard that, said agayne. I thought y ye knewe well, that god is aboue all, as wel in housebandy, as he is in warre. We see, that they that wyl make war, afoze they begynne, they make theyr bowes, prayes, & sacrifices, desirynge to knowe, what is best to dooe, and what is not best. And cynke ye, that in those thynges, that lōg to housebandy, we shuld haue les recourse to god? Be ye sure of this that good and honest men do worshipp almyghty god wyth oblations, and prayes, for all theyr fruytes, theyr oxen, theyr shepe, and their hozles, & generally for all that they haue. We thynketh good Socra, sayed Critobu. that ye speake very wel in this matter, whan ye byd to begin every thing wyth y trust of  
the



the helpe, and of the grace of god, seynge  
that god is aboue all thynges, as well in  
war as in peace. And therfoze we wil en-  
deuour vs to do so. But seynge your pur-  
pose was to speake here of the ozdzing of  
an house, the which ye haue left, & be en-  
tered into an other tale, endeuour your  
selfe to shew vs a lyttel moze, what folo-  
weth next. For nowe that I haue heard  
you say, that that ye haue spoken, me se-  
meth I see much better than afoze, what  
a man muste dooe for to lyue. Wherefoze  
So. saied, But wyl ye, that we reherse al  
that we haue spokē afoze, & agreed in, to  
the intent that we may, yf we can, goe  
foorth in this mattier, byngynge suche  
thyng as we shall like wylse agree vpon?  
We thynketh that like wylse, as it wolde  
be a great pleasure whan two men haue  
lent money one to an other, to agree vpon  
the rekenyng: So now in our comunica-  
cion, utterynge our myndes one to an o-  
ther, if we myghte gree in one tale. Wel  
than, saied Socrates, we agreed vpon this  
that the ozderynge of an house is y name  
of a science, & that semeth to be y science,  
to order and increace the house. And we  
toke the house for all a mans possessions  
and goodes. And we sayed, that was  
C.iii. cruely

## Xenophons treatise

truely the possession and goodes of a mā:  
the whiche was profitable vnto hym: for  
his liuyng: and we founde all that profit-  
table: that a man could vse & order. And  
therfoze we thought impossible for a mā  
to lerne al maner of sciences. And as for  
all the handy craftes: we thought best to  
expel theym from vs: lyke wise as many  
cyties & common welthes dyd. For they  
seme both to destroy a mannes bodye, &  
to breake a mans hert and stomake. And  
hereof: we saied: that this myghte be an  
eident token. For if the enemies did in-  
uade the countreis: and one did set the  
houseband men and the artificers a side:  
diuided in two partes: and asked theym:  
whether they had leuer to come for the  
pitch & field to fight with their enemies:  
or els to geue vp the fieldes: and kepe and  
defende the cities: They that haue ben  
bred in the fieldes and husbandry: would  
be glad to fight: to deliuer the countrey.  
But on the tother syde: the artificers  
woulde doe that & they haue be brought  
vp in: that is to sytte styll: neuer labour-  
yng: nor neuer puttyng theym selves in  
pzeace: nor in leopardy. Moreouer we  
commended housebandry for a good ex-  
ercise and a good occupacion for a good  
and



and an honeste man: by the whiche men  
maye haue all y<sup>e</sup> is necessary for them.  
For it is an occupacion verpe sone lerned:  
and verpe pleasant to be occupied in  
it: the whiche also maketh a mans body  
myghty: strong: wel compleccioned: and  
wel fauoured: his stomake an his spirite  
to be alway lustye and redy to do for hys  
frendes, and for hys countrey.

Moreouer, we iudged that it gaue men  
hert and courage to be valiant & hardye,  
seing y<sup>e</sup> fruites, that the ground brought  
forth, laye abroad in the plaine, without  
trenches, bulwarkes, or fortresses. And  
therfore that kynd of lyuyng semed to be  
moste honourable, and beste esteemed in  
cities and comon welthes, because it ma  
keth good men, wel disposed, & wel myn  
ded to do good for the common welth.

Than sayed Critobulus, I am after my  
mynde sufficiently perswaded, that a ma  
may haue a very good, an honeste, and a  
pleasaunt living in occupieng housban  
drie. But where ye saied, that ye knew y<sup>e</sup>  
cause, that some dyd so ble and occupye  
housbandrie, that they had by it plentye  
of all maner of thynges, that they neded:  
and some againe, that so ordred the selves

C.iiii.

in it,

By hus  
bandrie is  
moste ho  
norable.

## Xenophons treatise

In it, that it auailed them nothyng: these two thynges wold I gladly here of you, to the intent we may do that that is good, and eschew that that is contrary.

But what if I do tel you swete Critobu. sayd Socrates, euen fro the begynning, what communicatiō I had ones with a man, the whiche myght be called truely and in dede a good honeste man? That woulde I here very sayne, sayed Critobulus. For I my selfe do greatly desyre, that I maye bee worthy of that goodlye name. Than wyl I tell you, how I came fyrst to the consideration of this. For as touchynge good carpenters, good ioyners, good pernters, good ymagers me thought that I myght in a lyttel time see and behold theyr warkes moste allowed and beste accepted, that made the to be so called. But to chend I myghte se and behold, howe they that hadde that goodly and honozable name of a good & an honest man, dyd behaue theym selves to be worthy of it, my mynde dydde coueyte greatlye to talke with one of theim. And fyrste of all for because good and honest, went to gether, whan so euer I saw any goodly mā, I drew to him, and went about to know of him, if I might see good  
and



and honeſt, in a goodly mā. But it wold  
not bee. For me thought that I founde,  
that there were many with goodly bo-  
dies and fayre viſages, that had but euyl  
diſpoſed and vngacious ſoules. Than  
me thought it beſt, to enquire no further  
of goodly bodies, but to geat me to one  
of them that were called good and ho-  
neſt men. And for becauſe I harde, that  
Iſchomachus was generally, both of  
men, woman citezins, and ſtraungers,  
called and taken for a good honeſt man,  
me thought I coulde do no better, than  
to proue howe I myght commune with  
him. And vpon a time, whan I ſawe him  
ſittynge in a pꝛoch of a churche, for be-  
cauſe me thoughte he was at leyſer, I  
came to him, and ſette me downe by him  
and ſayd: What is the cauſe good Iſcho-  
machus, that ye, whiche be wonte to be  
euermore occupied, ſytte here now after  
this maner, for I haue ſeen you for the  
moſte part, euermore doyng ſomewhat,  
and lightly neuer ydel, except it were ve-  
ry littell? For ye ſhould now haue ſeene  
me good Socratees, ſayde he, ſyttynge af-  
ter this maner, if I had not apointed w  
certayne ſtraungers to tary here for the.  
And if ye were not here, where wold ye  
haue

## Xenophons treatise

haue bene, or howe woulde ye haue bene occupied, sayde I to hym: For I woulde knowe of you very fayne, what thing ye doo, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man: The good complexion of your body sheweth well ynough, that ye hyde not alwaye slouggynge at home. And than Ichomachus laughynge at that that I saide, what do ye, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man, and reioysing in his heart, as me thought by him, said: I can not tel, if any man calleth me so, whā you and he talke of me, but whan I must paye money, or for taxes, priestes, or subsidies, they call me playnely by my name Ichomachus. And in dede good Socra. I do not alway hyde at home, for my wyfe can order wel ynough suche thynges as I haue there. Yea but this woulde I knowe of you very fayne: Dyd ye your selfe bryng your wyfe to this, or els had her father & her mother brought her by sufficiency to orde an house afore she came to you? Ichomachus. Howe coulde she haue bene so, whan she was but fiftene yere olde, whā I married her: and afore she had bene so negligently brought vp, that she had but very littel sene, very littell her de, and very



ry littel spokē of the worlde. And I trow  
ye woulde not thinke it sufficient in her,  
if ſhe coulde do nothyng but ſpyne and  
carde, and ſette the hande maydens to  
worke. As for ſuche thynges, as cōcerne  
the lower partes of the bely, good Socra  
tes ſaid he, ſhe had ben very wel brought  
vp, the whiche is no ſmalle poynte of  
good brynngynge vp, bothe in a man and  
in a woman. And did ye teache your wiſe  
all the remnant, ſayde I, ſo that ſhe is a  
ble to take hede of all maner of thynges?  
Yes ſayde he, but not afore I had made  
my praier to almighty God, deſirynge  
him, that he woulde geue me the grace, to  
teache her ſo, and her to lerne that of me,  
that ſhould be good and profitable to vs  
both. And did your wiſe make the ſelfe  
ſame praier with you, ſaid I: Yes mary  
ſayd Iſchomachus, & it ſemeth in a ma  
ner, that God did promiſe evidently, and  
ſhe likewise ſheweth with clere and ma  
niſeſt tokēs, that ſhe woulde very well re  
garde & take hede to that that ſhe ſhould  
be taught. For goddes ſake, good Iſcho  
machus, ſayd I, what did ye begynne to  
teache her firſt: for I had leauer here you  
tell me ſuche a thyng, than if ye ſhuld di  
ſcrue me a iuſtig or a turnemēt, though  
it had

## Xenophons treatise

It had bene neuer so triumphant: Mary  
I wyll tel you Socrates, sayd he. When  
we were ones so wel acquainted, & so fa-  
miliar, that we talked together, I exami-  
ned her after this maner. Tell me good  
bedselowe, did ye euer cast in your mind  
for what cause I haue taken you, & your  
father and your mother deliuered you  
vnto me? I trowe ye knowe wel inough,  
that I take you not for nede, that I had  
of a bedselowe, to lye w<sup>th</sup> me, for I myght  
haue had inowe at my commaundement.  
But when I had considered in my mind,  
and your father and youre mother lyke-  
wysse, that it were wel done, to fynde out  
a good one, to be partaker both of oure  
house, and of our childzen, I chose you  
afoze all other, and your father and mo-  
ther lykewysse chose me. Wherefoze yf  
hereafter god geue vs the grace, that we  
may haue childze together, we shall take  
counsayle howe to brynge theim vp and  
instructe theim in vertue. For it shall be  
for both our pzoftes to haue theim, both  
to defende vs, and to helpe and nourishe  
vs in our olde age. Nowe the house that  
we haue, is common to vs both. For all  
that euer I haue, I haue shewed you, &  
deliuered it vnto you to keepe for bothe  
our



our behoues: and ye likewise haue done the same. And ye may not caste in youre minde, whiche of vs both brought more.

But this ye muste knowe for a suertie, that loke whiche of vs thwayne doeth be- haue him selfe, and doeth best in this fe- feloweshyp, that he byngeth more, and his part is the better.

Then my wyfe, good Socrates, answered here vnto after this maner. Wherin can I helpe you, said she: or wherin may my littell power do you any good? For truly my mother tolde me, that all toge- ther lay in your handes, and that it be- longed vnto me, to be sobze and lyue in chastite. Mary so it is good wyfe sayd I, and so my father tolde me to. But it is the point of a sobze housebande, and of a sobze wyfe, to do so, that that the whiche they haue, may be well ordred and guy- ded, and to encrease and gette more to it, by some good and ryghtfull waye. And what doe ye se in me, sayd my wyfe, that I may encrease our house, if I do applie it? Mary sayd I, if ye endenour your self to doe those thynges to the best of youre power, the which both God willeth, that ye should do, and the lawe exhorteth you to it. And what thynges be those said she?

Merely,

I goog les  
son for a  
wyfe.

## Xenophons treatise

Why wed  
locke was  
ordayned.

Merely saide I, no small chynges, except  
ye thynke that that Bee doth but a littell  
good, the which remaineth stil in y<sup>e</sup> hie,  
to ouer see the woꝝkes, whā the other ga  
abꝛode to gether floures. And foꝛsoth me  
thinketh, that God almighty hath set to  
gether so many good causes and conside  
rations, that goodly couple, that is the  
housbande and the wyfe, to thintent that  
they should be moſte profitable one to an  
other in that good felowſhyp. Firſt of al  
to thintent that mankind do not decay &  
fayle, this ſoly couple lieth together & in  
gendꝛeth chyldꝛen. Than agayne, by rea  
ſon hereof, they bꝛyng foꝛth chyldꝛen to  
helpe & ſuccour them in their olde age.  
Moꝛeouer, the maner and lyuynge of mē  
doth greatly differ from the life of wyld  
beaſtes, the whiche be alway abꝛode in  
fieldes. Foꝛ it is mete foꝛ mē to haue hou  
ſes. Wherefoꝛe it is conuenient, that thei  
whiche wyll haue ſome what to bꝛyng  
into their houſes, haue men with them  
to do thoſe woꝝkes, that muſte nedes bee  
done abꝛode in the fieldes. Foꝛ tyllage  
of the grounde, ſowynge of the corne, ſet  
tyng of trees, and keepynge of beaſtes at  
graffe and paſture, be all doone abꝛode.  
But agayne, it is nedefull, whā thoſe  
fruites



frustes be conueyed into the house; to ouerſe and ſaue them, and to dooe al ſuche thinges as muſt be done at home. Babes and yong childre muſt nedes be brought vp within the houſe. Bread muſt be baked, and the meat ſoode and drelled with in the houſe. Alſo ſpynnyng, cardyng, & weauing muſt be done within the houſe. And where that both thoſe thynges, that muſt be dooen abrode, and thoſe that be dooen within the houſe, do requyre care and diligence, we thinke that God hath cauled nature to ſhew plainly, that a woman is borne to take hede of all ſuch thinges, as muſt be dooen at home. For he hath made man of body, hearte, and ſtomacke, ſtrong and mighty, to ſuffre and endure hete and cold, to iourney, and go a warfare. Wherefore God hath in a manner commaunded and charged him with thoſe thinges, that be done abrode out of the houſe. He alſo remembryng, that he hath ordeyned the woman, to bryng vp yonge children, he hath made her ſarre more tender in loue towarde her childre than the houſebande. And where he hath ordeined, that the woman ſhuld kepe thoſe thinges that the man getteth & bryngeth home to her, and he knowyng very wel, that

A houſe  
repres of  
lice.

## Xenophons treatise

that for to kepe a thyng surely, it is not the worst, to be doubtfull and fearefull, he dealed to her a great deale more feare, than he did to the man.

And he also perceiuing, that if any mā doth him wrong, the whiche labourerth and worketh without, he must defende him selfe, he distributed to the mā a gret dele more boldenesse. And for because it behoueth, that both they do geue and receiue, he hath geuen them indifferently remembraunce and diligence, in so much that it is hard to discern, whether kynnd hath more of them, either the man or the woman. He hath also granted them indifferently, to refraine them selues from suche thynges, as is conuenient they do, And hath geuen them power and authoritie, that loke in what thyng the eyther of them doth the better, he byngeth the more awaye with him. But because the natures and the dispositions of the both be not egally so perfect in al these thinges they haue so much the more nede the one of the other. And this couple is so muche the more profitable, the one to the other, because that that y one lacketh, the other hath. Wherfore good wyse, seyng we see that, whiche God hath ordeined for vs both,



bothe, we must enforce, & endeuoure our  
 selues to do both our partes in the beste  
 wise. The lawe semeth to comforte vs &  
 exhorte vs to it, the whiche coupleth mā  
 and wife together. And likewise as God  
 maketh them come together to get chyl-  
 dren. So the lawe wil haue them liue to-  
 gether, partakers one of anothers goo-  
 des in good felowship. Like wise the law  
 sheweth, and God commaundeth, that it  
 is best for eche of theim to do their parte.  
 For it is more honestie for a woman to  
 kepe her house, that to walke aboute.  
 And it is more shame for a man to abyde  
 slugging at home, thā to applie his mind  
 to such thynges as must be done abrode.  
 But if any man doth contrary to that, &  
 be is naturally bozne to, peraduenture  
 God wil remembre, that he breaketh his  
 statutes and decrees, and will punish the  
 hym, other for because he is neglygent  
 in that that he should do, or els because  
 he taketh vpon him that that belongeth  
 to the wyfe. We thynketh also, that the  
 maiſtres bee, that keper the hyue, doeth  
 lykewyse, that that God hath ordeyned  
 her vnto. And what doeth the maiſtres  
 bee, sayde she, whereby it may be lyke  
 ned to that that I must do, for because

A good ens-  
 sample of  
 becs.

D. J.

saye

## xenophons treatise

sayd he, it bydeth alway in the hīue, and wil not suffre no bees to be yole: and thei that shoulde worke without, she sendeth the to their worke. And what soeuer any of them bringeth home, she marketh, receiueh, & saueh it, vntill the tyme come that it must be occupied. And whan the tyme cometh that it muste be occupied, than she distributeth enery thyng accordyng as equitie requirerh. And she causeth them that do bide within, to weaue and make the sayze Honey combes after the best wyse, and taketh hede to the yōge bees, that they be wel fed & brought vp. But whan they become to that age, & to that point, that they be able to worke, she sendeth the out with one, the whiche they folowe as their gyde and capitaine. And must I doo so to, sayde my wyle: ye forsooth saide I: For ye must alway byde within the house, & those men the whiche must worke abroad, she must sende them to it: and they that must worke within, ye must commaunde them, and be ouer them, to se them do it. And that that is brought in, ye must receiue it. And that which must be spent of it, ye must part & deuide it. And that yf remaineth, ye must le it vp and kepe it safe, cythtine of neede.

And



And beware that, that which was apointed to be spent in a twelue month, be not spent in a monthe. And whan the woll is brought in to you, ye must see, that it be carded & sponne, that cloth may be made of it. Also ye must se, that y cozne, which is brought in to you, be not so musty, & dusty, that it may not be eaten. But one thing specially aboue all other there is, y ye must be carefull foze, and that shal get you great fauour and lous, that is, if any of your seruauntes hap to fall sicke, that ye endeuour your selfe, the beste that ye can, not onely to cheryshe them, but also to helpe that they may haue their helth againe. By my seyth, sayde my wyfe, it is a very gracious and a kinde dede. For whan they be ones holpen, and ealed, they wyll cunne vs very good thanke, & be the moze louing and faithfull vnto vs. And me thought sayd I chomachus, that it was an aunswere of a good and an honest wyfe. And by the reason of this good prouision of this maistres Wes, sayde I, all the tother beare so good loue and affection vnto her, that whan so euer she goeth oute of the hyue, there wyll noone tary behynde, but all waygbt vpon her. Than my wyfe aunswered me. I dooe

D. y.

great

## Xenophons treatise

greatly marueyle, whether such thinges  
as ye say the maystres bee doeth, doo not  
belonge muche moze to you than to me.

For my keepng and departng within,  
were but a litel worth, except ye did your  
diligēce, that somewhat might be brought  
in. And my bynging in, sayde I, should  
auayle but a littell, except there were one  
that kept and said that that I brought  
in. Do ye not see sayde I, howe euer ye  
man hath great pitie of them, the which,  
they saye, that their punishmente is to  
poure water into tubbes full of hooles,  
till they be full. And they pitie them for  
nothyng els, but because they seme to la-  
bour in vayne. By my saythe, sayde my  
wyfe, they be very miserable in dede, the  
whiche dooe so. There be other thynges  
that belonge to you to take hede of, the  
whiche must nedes be very pleasant vnto  
you, as whan ye haue taken one into  
your seruice, that can neither spynne nor  
carde, if ye teache her to do it, it shall be  
twyse so muche moze worth vnto you.

And if ye haue a mayde, y<sup>e</sup> which is other  
negligent, or is not trew of her hādes, or  
that can not waite, if ye make her diligēt  
trusty, and a good seruaunt, all shalbe to  
your great profite. And agayne whan ye  
le



se your seruātes good and sobze felowes  
and profitable for your house, ye must do  
thē good, and shewe thē some gentylnes.  
But if there be any of thē knauith or fro  
warde, ye must punishe theim. And this  
againē should be moſte plesant of al, if ye  
could make your selfe better than I, and  
make me as it were your seruaunt. And  
ye nede not feare, lest in proces of tyme,  
whā ye come to age, ye be lesse set by: but  
be ye sure of this, if ye be diligent, louing  
and tendible to me, our chyldren, and  
houholde, the elder that ye ware, & more  
honorable and better esteemed shal ye be.  
For it is not the beautifulnesse, & goodly  
shappe, but the very vertue and good-  
nesse that men regarde, and fauour.

**I** remēbre good Socra. that my firste  
communicatiō with her, was after this  
maner. And dyd ye perceiue good Ischo-  
machus, said I, that by the reason of this  
she was any thing moued to be more dili-  
gent: Yes verely, saide Ischomachus.

And I sawe her vpon a time soze an an-  
gred with her selfe, and gretly ashamed,  
that whan I asked her a thinge, & I had  
brought home, she could not fette it me.  
And whā I saw, that it greued her very  
soze, I said vnto her. Take neuer & more  
D.ij. thought

## Xenophons treatise

thought for the mater, if ye can not geue me that that I aske you. For it is a token of pouerte in very dede, whan a man lacketh a thyng, that he can not haue. But this nede may bee suffered a great deale better, whan a man seketh a thyng, and can not fynde it, than if at the begynning he doeth not seke for it, knowyng that he hath it not. But as for this ye be not to be blamed, said I, but I my selfe, sayng I haue not apointed you a place, wher to lay every thyng, that ye might know where ye should set it, and where to fet it again.

The praise  
and profite  
of order.

There is nothing, good swete wyfe, so profitable and so goodly among men, as is an order in every thyng. In plaies & enterludes, where a great compaignie of men is assembled to play their partes, if they shuld rashely do & say, what so euer fell into their braynes, it would be but a trouble and a busines, and no pleasure to beholde theim. But whan they doe and speake every thyng in order, the audiece hath a very gret pleasure both to beholde theim, ye and also to heare theim. And likewise an army of men swete wyfe said I, that is out of ordre, and set out of good array, is a very great confusion, in danger to be lyghly overcome of their enemies,



mies, & a very pituous & miserable sight  
to their stendes, as whan there is toge-  
ther in a plump, asses, fotemen, cartes,  
baggage, and men of armes. And howe  
should they go forwarde, whan they dose  
let one another? He y goeth letteth hym  
that renneth, he that reneth, disfourbeth  
hym that standeth still, the cart letteth y  
man of armes, the ass, the cart, the bag-  
gage, the foteman. And if they should co-  
me to the point, that they myght fyghte,  
how could they fight being in y taking?  
For whan they be saue, by the reason of  
their il order, to fle their owne company,  
that letteth the, how could they, thus fle-  
yng ouercome the that set vpon them in  
good order of battaile, & well weaponed?  
But the army that is well ordered & kept  
in good array, is a very pleasaunt sight  
to their friendes, and greuous to their  
enemies. What friende is there, but that  
he wyl haue a very great pleasure, to see  
the fotemen marche forwarde in good or-  
der and array? What is that man, but he  
wyl meruaile, whan he beholdeth a great  
numbre of men of armes ryding in good  
array and order? And what enemy wil  
not be aferde, whan he seeth morespikes  
billes, men of armes, crosbowes, & also

D. iij.

archers

## xenophons treatise

archers, the whiche folowe their captaynes in good arraye and order of battayle? And also whan they marche forwarde in good array, if they be neuer so many thousandes, yet thei walke as peacefully as though there were but one man alone. And what maketh a galley, well furnished with men, feareful to the enemies and pleasant to beholde vnto frendes, but that it goeth so swyftely? And what maketh them that be in it, that thei do not trouble one another, but that thei do sytte in order, keepe and make signes in order, lie downe in order, ryse in order drawe the ores in order? And as for confusion and misorder, me thynketh it is lyke, as if a man of the countrey shoulde put together on a hepe, Otes, Wheate, barley, and pease: and whan he had nede to occupy any of them, he shoulde be faine to trie it out, and put it by it selfe againe. Wherefore swete wife, ye shal lyghtly eschewe suche confusion, if ye put to your good wyl, to set in good order that y we haue, & take to you that that ye haue nede of, and spare not: and geue to me that y I call for graciously. And let vs seke out and prepare a handsome place to set euery thyng in, according as euery thyng requireth



requirethe. And whan we haue sette it there, let vs shewe it the seruaunte, that maye fetch it, and laye it vp agayne.

And thus we shall know, what we haue lausd, & what we haue lost. For the place it selfe shal lacke that y it should haue.

And the syght wyl serche out that y hath nede of helpe, & make vs to know anone, where lieth every thyng, so that we shall not be to seke, whan we haue nede of it.

I remembze good So. that vpon a tyme I went a bourde a shyppe of Phenicia, where I beheld the goodlyeste order and the moste perfect that euer I sawe, I considered, howe great abundaunce of imple- mentes was in that small vessell.

There were many ores, and many other thynges made of wodde: with the whych they bring the shippe into, and out of the haue. What a sort of throwdes, hallers, cables, lines, & other takeling was there? With howe many ingins of warre both to defend it selfe, and to greue an enemye, was it armed: What a sight of armour and weapons of the me, cary they about with them. Moreover, they cary wyth them muche bytaye and other necessaries, that men vse at home in theyr houses. Besyde all this it was laded, wyth such

The ordi  
of a shyp

## Xenophons treatise

suche stouffe and goodes, as the shyppe  
mayster getteth by the cariage therof.  
And all thys geare that I speke of, was  
stowed in so lytel a rowme, that a farre  
greater place wolde not haue receyued  
it, yf it shulde haue ben remoued. And I  
marked howe euery thyng was so well  
sette in good order, that no one thing did  
let an other, nor hadde no nede to be longe  
sought for: Nor were not so scatered, &  
so yll compacte, that a man shulde tary  
long for it whan he shuld occupy it quic-  
kely. And he that wayted vpon the Pa-  
trone of the shyppe, that is to say, he that  
standeth in the fore part of the shyppe, I  
perceiued, that he had euery place so wel  
in his mynde, that though he were not  
there, he wolde tel you redily where ene-  
ry thyng laye, none other wyse than he  
that is learned can tel how many letters  
goe to thys word, Socrates, & in what  
place euery letter is sette. Mozeouer, I  
sawe hym, whan he was serchyng and  
castyng in his mynde, howe many thyn-  
ges a shyppe hath nede of: Than I mer-  
uaylyng, wher he mused and studied  
asked hym what he meaned. I consider  
and caste afoze hand god man, quoth he,  
yf any thyng shoulde chaunce, howe and  
in



in what redynes every thyng lyethe in  
hys shyppe, whether any thyng lyethe  
out of the place, or if every thyng be not  
trimmed to the purpose.

For it is no tyme, whan god sendeth vs  
a storme on the sea, to be seeking that that  
we nede of, nor to bynge forth that that  
is not handsome and wel trymmed. For  
god threteth and punisheth theym that  
be ydel and negligent. And we may be  
glad, yf he dooe not destroy vs, whan we  
doe our duetie. And yf he saueth the that  
be great labour and diligēce, thei ought  
to thanke hym greatly. Wherfore whan  
I perceyued and sawe that goodly & per-  
fect order, I sayed vnto my wyfe: that it  
shuld be great slooth and negligence vnto  
vs, yf they, which be but in littel ship-  
pes and smal vesselles, fynde feete places  
to stowe every thyng in, that they carpe  
with them, And though they be soze sha-  
ken and troubled, and continually in gret  
feare, yet they kepe a good order. And we  
that haue so goodly places and a house  
standyng stedfastely on the lande, coulde  
not fynde places meete and conuenient  
for to sette euery thyng in, howe moch  
ought we to be blamed of lewdeness and  
small wysedome?

## Xenophons treatise

We haue sufficiently spoken, how profitable it is to set all the implimentes of the house in good ordre, and to set euery thing in suche a redines, in places mete therfore, that it maye be easie to find and come by, whā nede requireth. But howe goodly a thyng is it to se selwtes of all a mannes apparell, lyenge by it selfe, keruellettes, and cōterpointes by thē selfe, shetes, towels, and al napery ware by thē selves, pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of y<sup>e</sup> kitchin by thē selfe, al that longeth to the table by it selfe, and so lyke wyse of al other thinges, that lōg to an house, wher at he that is vnwyse, & knoweth not good order, wyl laughe.

And wether it be so or not my swete wif, we may lyghly proue without great cost and with small labour. And ye must not trouble youre selfe, as though it were an harde thyng to find one, that coude lerne the places, and remembre where to set euery thyng. For we knowe wel, that in the citee there is a thousande times more ware than we haue: but yet what so euer seruant ye wyl commaund, to go and by you somewhat, in the market, he wyl not stande styll, as though he coude not tel what to do, but by the reason that he remembreth



mebeth, where he hath sene of it he goth  
thither streyght waye, and fetcheth it.  
And surelye ther is none other cause of  
this sayde I, but that there is a place de-  
termyned where one shal haue it. But yf  
one seketh a man, the whyche seketh him  
to, may fortune he wyl often tymes be  
soner werpe than he can finde hym. And  
of this like wise, there is none other cau-  
se, but that there is no place appoynted,  
where the one shoulde tary for y tother.  
As for settynge in order of the household  
stufte, and of the vse of it, I remembze I  
spake vnto hyr after thys maner. And  
how thought ye by your wyfe, good Is-  
chomachus, sayed I: Whether dyd she  
obey you in that thyng, that ye taughte  
hyr so busily? Ischo. What shuld I saie,  
but that she promised to apply hir minde  
vnto it. And me thought verely by hyr  
countenaunce, she was very glade, that  
where afore she was in great doubt and  
perplexetie, she had found a good way in  
it, & besought me, that I wolde make an  
order of euery thing, as I had sayed vn-  
to hir, as sone as was possible And what  
order dyd you shew hir, good Ischoma-  
chus sayed I: Ischo. What order shoulde  
I shew hyr but this: I yf the me thought  
best

## Kenophons treatise

best to shew hir, what a house properlye  
was ordeygndfoze. For it is not ordey-  
ned to be gorgeously painted with diuers  
faire pictures, but it is builded for thys  
purpose and consideracion, that it shuld  
be a profitable vessel for those thynges, &  
shulde be in it. Wherfore in a maner it  
byddethe the dwellers, to laye vp euerye  
thyng, where it is most mete to put it.  
The inner priuey chambze, because it  
standeth strongest of al, loketh for to haue  
the iewels, plate, and al such thynges as  
be most precious. The drye places loken  
for the wheate, The cold for the wyne.  
And bryght places doe desire suche wo-  
rkes and thynges, as require lightsones.  
Moreover, I shewed hyr, howe parlours  
and dynynge places, well trymmed and  
dressed, for men to eate and dynke in, in  
sommer shoulde be colde, and in wynter  
warme. And I shewed hir, how al the si-  
tuacio of y house was very moch south-  
warde, wherby it may be clerely vnder-  
stand, that in winter the sonne lygheteth  
wel fauourdly vpon it, & in sommer there  
is goodly shadowe in it. Further, I shew-  
ed hyr the nourcerye and the womens  
lodgynge, deuided from the mens lodgynge,  
lest there came out any thyng amysse, &  
our



our seruauntes shoulde get theym chyl-  
dren without our consentment. For thei  
that be good, yf they haue chyl dren tho-  
rough our permission, they wyl loue vs  
the better. And they that be naughte, yf  
they come ones to couple with a woman  
they wyl synde the more wayes, and the  
more better theyf to fulfyll theyr vngra-  
ciousnes. And after we had spoken thus  
saied he, we went and deuided the hous-  
holde stuffe, by sewtes & sortes after thys  
maner. First we did put to gether al ma-  
ner of thynges longyng to sacrifices.

Next to y the good wyues apparel, both  
for holy dayes and workyng dayes, & af-  
terwarde the good mānes apparell, both  
for y holy daies, and also for warre Clo-  
thes for mēs chaūbzes and for the nour-  
cery, mens shoues, and wemens shoues.  
Then we appointed out the instrumen-  
tes, that belong to spinning and carding  
and suche as pertyne to the bake house,  
to the kechyn, to the bath, and to y boul-  
tyng house. We dyd separate a sonder  
those thynges, that shulde be occupied al-  
waye, frome those that bee occupied, but  
at diner and souper. And we dyd separat  
that, that we shulde spende in a monthes  
space, & that that was appointed to serue  
vs

## Xenophons treatise

vs a twelue month. For so it is þ better  
known, in what maner it is brought to  
an ende. And after we had separated all  
the householde stuffe in sewtes and soz-  
tes, we dyd set euery thyng in a place co-  
uenient. Afterwarde all the instrumen-  
tes that our seruañtes must occupy daye-  
ly, as for the backehouse: for the kitchin:  
for spynnyng and cardyng, and other  
lyke, we dydde the we theym the place,  
where they shoulde put them again, and  
than delyuered theim, & bade theym kepe  
theim safe. And as for sache thynges, as  
shoulde be occupied but seldome, or vpon  
holy daies, or whā there came any straū-  
giers vnto vs: or at certayne other times  
in certayne busynes: we deliuered theim  
vnto a woman: that we made the keeper  
of our store house: and shewed hyr þ pla-  
ce: where they shoulde be sette. And whā  
we had made a rekenyng vnto hyr of al:  
and also wrytten euery thyng: we bade  
hyr: that she shoulde delyuer them forth  
as tyme and nede required: and that she  
shoulde remembre wel: to whom she deli-  
uered any thyng. And whan she recey-  
ued it againe: that she shuld laye it vppe:  
where she had it before. And to be keeper  
of our storehouse: we apointed her: that  
semed



semed vnto vs moze sobre and temperate  
in eatynge drynkinge, and slepinge, and  
that she could very well refrain the com-  
pany of men, and that semed also to haue  
a very good remembraunce, and that wold  
betwate to be founde in a faute throughe  
her negligence, leass she shulde displease  
vs with it, and seke the meane to do that  
that shoulde please vs, that she myght be  
prayed and rewarded for it. Moreover  
we taught her to haue a good wil toward  
vs, and to loue vs, for bycause that whā  
there was any thing happened, that ma-  
de vs ioyfull and glad, we made her par-  
taker of it, and yf we were sorowfull and  
heuy for anye matter, we called her, and  
shewed her the same. Furthermoze we  
taughte her to set her good wyll and her  
good mynde, to encrease our house, tea-  
ching her the way and the maner howe.  
And if any thyng fortunēd wel to vs, we  
gaue her parte of it. Also we taughte her  
to be iuste and trewe in her busines, and  
to esteeme and set moze by the, that were  
good and ryghtfull, than by them that  
were false and vntrewe. And we shewed  
her, howe they lyued in moze welthe and  
moze lyberte, than they that were false  
and vntrewe. And so thus we dyd sette

## Xenophons treatise

his in the ronne . And at the last good  
 Socrates, sayde he, I sayd vnto my wife  
 that al this shuld auaille nothing, excepte  
 she toke diligent hede, that euery thyng  
 myght remaine still in good order . I  
 taught her also how in common welthes  
 and in good cities, that were well ruled  
 and ordered, it was not inough for the ci-  
 tizens and dwellers, to haue good lawes  
 made vnto them, excepte that they besyde  
 the chosmen to haue the ouer sight of the  
 same lawes, the whose dutie shulde be to  
 see, that they the whyche do well, and ac-  
 cordinge to the lawe, maye be p[re]sented,  
 and he that doth the contrarie, to be pu-  
 nished . And so I had my wyfe, that she  
 shulde thinke her selfe to be, as if it were  
 an ouerseer of the lawes within our house:  
 and that she shulde, whan she thoughte  
 best, ouer see the staffe, vessel, and imple-  
 mentes of our hous none other wyse than  
 the capitaine of a garrison ouerseeth and  
 proueth the souldyours, how euery thing  
 standeth: or like wyse as the Senate and  
 the counniell of Athenes ouerseeth, and  
 maketh a profite bothe of the men of ar-  
 mes, and also of theyr horses . And that  
 she shulde p[re]yse and rewarde hym, that  
 were worthy, to her power, as yf she  
were

A good  
 wifes  
 dutie.



were a quene, And blame ye, and punish  
hym, that doth deserue it. Besyde al this  
I taughte hir, that she shulde not be dys-  
pleased, yf I did put hir to moze busynes  
and charged hir wyth mo thynges to be  
done in the house, than any seruaunt I  
had shewyng hir, that pzentis and coue-  
nant seruantes haue no moze of theyr  
maystres goodes, but as muche as they  
deliuer them, to do theyr maisters serui-  
ce with al, or to bestow it in their behalfe  
or to kepe it for them: and they maye oc-  
cuppe none of it to theyr owne vse, exce-  
pte their maisters do gyue it them. But  
he that is the mayster, he hath all, and  
may vse every thyng at his owne plea-  
sure. Wherefore he that hath most profit-  
te by it, yf his goodes be safe, hath moste  
losse, if they be losse or perished. I shewed  
hir, it were reason he shulde be most dili-  
gent, and take best hede about it. Than  
sayd I, Good Ischomachus, when your  
wif harde this, how did she take it: what  
wyl ye haue any moze of it good Socra.  
but that she sayd: I knewe hir not wel yf  
I thought it dyd greue hir, that I shoul-  
de teache hir, to take hede to hir goodes  
and substance. For it shulde haue ben  
moze greuous vnto me a greate deale,  
C. ii. sayd

## Xenophons treatise

sayd she, yf ye had bade me to take no he  
de to my goodes, than to byd me to be dy  
ligēt about that that is myne owne. For  
me thynketh, that lyke wyse, as it is na  
turally geuen to a good womā, rather to  
be diligent about hir own children, than  
not to care for them. Likewise it is more  
pleasure for an honeste woman to take  
hede to hir own goodes, thā to let nought  
by them. And whan I herde, sayed So  
crates, y his wife gaue him such an ans  
were, I sayed, By my feyth Alchoma  
chus, ye tell me of a foly and a manly sto  
macke of a woman. He, saied he, ye shall  
heare me tell you other thynges yet, that  
wyl well shew hir good luffis hert, that  
whan she had herde but ones speake of it  
streyght wey she did after me in it. Soc.  
I pray you tel me that, for surely I haue  
more pleasure a great deale, to lerne the  
vertue of a woman aliue, than if Zeuss  
the excellent peynter shulde shew me the  
picture and portrature of a faire womā.  
Than saied Alchoma, whan I had seene  
hir vpon a time, that she had peynted hir  
face wyth a certayne ointment, that she  
myghte seme whiter than she was, and  
with an other ointment, that she myght  
seme redder than she was in very dede, &  
that



that she had a peyze of hyghe shoues on  
hir feete, to make hir seme taller woman  
than she was, I sayde vnto her: Tell me  
good wyfe, whether woulde ye iudge me  
worthier to be beloued, if our goodes and  
substance nowe beyng common one to  
another, if I should shew you that that I  
haue in very dede, & make nother more  
of it noz lesse than it is in very dede, and  
kept nothyng priuey frō you: or if I wēt  
about to decyue you, sayng I had more  
than I haue, and shewyng you false mo-  
ney, cheines of brasse in steede of golde,  
counterfeit pzeious stoones, red in the  
steede of scarlet, false purple in the steede of  
pure and good: Than she answered  
streight way. God forbid ye shuld besuch  
one: For if ye wers suche one, I coulde  
not fynde in my hert to lone you. I wyll  
tell you wyfe: We be come together, to  
chintent to haue pleasure of the body one  
of an other, at the lest men saye so: Whe-  
ther than, seeyng I muste geue you my  
body to vse with you, were I better to be  
beloued after your iudgemēt, if I studied  
and went aboute to make my body seme  
the lustier, the strōger, the better colour-  
red, the better complectioned, and should  
nointe my face with certain oyntmētes,

## Xenophons treatise

and so shewe me vnto you, and lye wyth you, and geue you these oyntmentes to se and to handle, in the stede of my colour, and of myne owne face: Forsoth, sayed she, I shuld neuer haue moze pleasure in handlynge any oyntement in the stede of your face, noz delite moze in thig counterfeited, thā in your very eyes and naturall face. Thinke lyke wyse by me good wyse, sayed Alschomachus, that I haue no moze pleasure in oyntmentes, than I haue in your owne natural body and face. And like wise as god hath made hoxses, to haue pleasure with mares, bulles with kine rammes with ewes, so like wise men doe thinke that body most pleasant, that is pure. And as for such wiles, and deceites, they may peradventure begyle straungers, so that they shall neuer be spied, but they that bee dayly conuersant together, they shall lightly perceiue, yf the tene go about to deceiue the tother. For they wyl be spied, eyther whan they ryse out of their bedde, befoze they make them redy, or whan they sweate, or whā they wepe, or whan they washe and bath them. Socra. And I praye you sayed, I, what an answere made she to it. Alcho. What, sayed I: by my feyth she went neuer



uer sens about no such matters, but she  
wed hir selfe alware pure wyth as good  
comlines as might be. And she asked me,  
whether I coulde geue hir any counsaile,  
how she shoulde be sayzer in dede, and not  
onely appere so. And than I gaue hir  
counsaile, that she shoulde not sit stil like  
a slave or abondeman; but goe about the  
house lyke a maystres, and see howe the  
wozkes of the house went forwarde: so-  
metymes to the weaunyng women, bothe  
to teache them that she can do better tha  
they, & also to marke who doth better or  
wozse: some tymes to loke vpon hir that  
baketh the bread: some tymes to loke vpon  
hir, that keperthe the store house, to se hyr  
set vp and mette that that she weauneth  
sometymes to bestir hir selfe, lokynge vpon  
euery thing bee sette vp in his place. For  
I rekened, y this shoulde be bothe a way  
to take hede to the house, and also shoulde  
serue for good walke. Also I sayed, it  
were a good exercise to washe, to boult,  
to bake, to shake keuerlettes, hangyn-  
ges, tappettaryc ware, and to sette them  
vp agayne in their place. For I sayde, yf  
she did somwhat to exercise hir selfe, she  
shoulde haue the more lust to hir meate,  
she shuld be the more helthy, and get bet-

## Xenophons treatise

ter fauoured colour in very dede. And also the syght of the maystres beyng more clenlier and far better apparayled, and setting hir hand to worke, and in maner stryuyng wyth hir seruantes, who shall do most, is a great comfort vnto theym, that be vnder hir, specially whan it lyeth in theym, eyther to do hir pleasure in doing of their worke with a good wil, or to be cōpelled to do it agaynst their wylles. But they y alway do stande styl lyke quenes in their maiesty, thei wil be only iudged of those women y be triumphantly arayed, y which doe deceiue theim. And now, sayed he, good Socrates be ye sure, she liueth euen as I haue taught hir and as I tell you. Soc. Than sayed I. Good Ischomachus, me thinketh ye haue sufficiently spoken touchyng the behauour of your wyfe, and of your, to the greates pzeple of you both: but now I pray you, tell me your owne dedes, that bothe ye may reioyce in tellyng such thynges, the which doe get you so good a name. And whā I haue heard: & learned the workes and dedes of a good honest man, I maye geue you such thākes as ye deserue, and accordyng to my power. By my sayth sayed Ischomachus, I wyll be gladd to  
tell



tell you all, what so euer I doe, to the en-  
tent ye may correct me, if ye thinke I doe  
not well in some thyng. Socrates: ye but  
tell me, how could I correcte you, seeyng  
that ye be come to this point, to be a good  
honest man, specially whan I am h man  
that is taken for a trisler, that occupieth  
him selfe in nothyng, but in measurynge  
of the aire? And that that is a very soze **The name**  
rebuke, and a token of mooste folly, I am **of pouerte**  
called a pooze man. And I assure you,  
that name would haue troubled me very  
soze, if I had not met the tother daye by  
chance one Nicias hors, and sene muche  
people that came after to beholde hym,  
and hearde very muche talkyng of him.  
And in ver ye deede I came to the horse-  
keper and asked him, whether the horse  
had muche money or not. And he looked  
vpon me as though I had bene madde, to  
aske him suche a penishe question, and  
sayde: Howe should a horse haue any mo-  
ney? And so I turned me even backe a-  
gayne, whan I harde, it was lausful for a  
pooze horse to be good, if he had a good  
free harte and stomacke with him. And  
therfore I pray you, seying it is lykewise  
lausfull for a pooze man to be good, that  
ye will tell me your maner of liuing to h  
bitter.

uttermostte poynt, to thintent that whan  
ye haue tolde, I may endenour my selfe  
to lerne it, and from this day forward to  
begyn to folowe you and do after you.

For that may be called a very good day,  
on the which a man beginneth to be good  
and vertuous, I knowe well ye tell with  
me good Socra. said Ischomachus: But  
yet I will tell you as farre forth as I can  
the hole course of my lyfe, the whiche I  
purpose to folowe styll till the last day of  
my lyfe. After that I had wel percued,  
that except a man knoweth what is to be  
done, and will sette and applie his minde  
and diligence to perfozme the same, God  
graunteth no man to do well. And vnto  
them that be both wise and diligent, god  
sendeth welth and good fortune. Where  
fore first of all I began to honour & wor  
ship God, and to call vpon him with my  
praiera, that he wold vouchesafe to sende  
me the grace, y I might haue my helthe,  
stregth of body, honour in my citie, god  
wyll of my frendes, to retorne home a  
gaine safe from warfare, with y increase  
of my riches and goodes. Socrates. And  
whan I hearde that, I sayde: And care  
ye so muche to ware ryche, seeyng that  
whan ye be riche, ye haue the moze trou  
ble,



ble, in studying howe to order and keepe  
your goodes? Yes mary, sayde Iſcho. I  
haue no smal care of that that ye aske me  
For me thynketh it is a greate pleasure  
both to worſhip God honourably, and to  
helpe my frendes, if they be in nede, and  
to ſe that the citie be not depriued of y<sup>e</sup> or-  
namentes of riches, as muche as lieth in  
me. Socra. By my ſeyth, that that ye ſay  
good Iſchomachus, is good and alſo ve-  
ry honourable, and longing to a man of  
great power and ſubſtance. Iſchoma. It  
muſt nedes be thus. For there be ſomme  
men, the whiche can not liue, but they  
muſt be holpen of other men. And there  
be many agayne, that reken it ſufficient,  
if they can get that, that is neceſſary for  
them. But thoſe that wyll not onely or-  
der and gyde their houſes, but alſo haue  
ſo great aboundaunce, that they doo  
bothe honour to the citie, and alſo helpe  
and eaſe their frendes: why ſhoulde not  
they be called and taken for men of pro-  
founde wiſdome, of great power, and of  
ſtoute ſtomacke? Socra. Surely there be  
many of vs, ſayd I, that may well prayſe  
ſuche maner of men. But for goddis ſake  
tell me euen fro the place, where ye be-  
ganne how ye gooe about to mainteyne  
your

## Xenophons treatise

your helth, and also the strength of your body, howe it may be lausful, to retourne honourably home agayne safe from the warre. For as touching the encreasynge of goodes, we shall here of it afterwarde sufficiently. But me thynketh, sayde Ischomachus, that these thinges be linked together, & come one after another. For whan a man hath meate and drinke sufficiently, if he do labour well, he shall haue his helth the better and the longer. And he that wel exercised in war, he shall retourne home safe agayne and with more honour. And he that is diligēt, and doth toker himself, noz geue him self to slooth and idelnes, he is the more lykely to encrease his house. Socra. Forsoth Ischo. I graūt you all this euē hether to, where ye saye, that he y laboureth taketh peine, vseth diligence, and exerciseth him selfe, cometh the rather to goodes. But what labour ye vse to mainteine a good complexion, and to get you strength, & howe also ye exercise your selfe for the warre, and how ye study to get so much substance and goodes, that ye may both helpe your friendes, and make the citie more honourable and stronger by it, that woulde I very sayne here. Merely good Socrates sayd



sayd Ischomachus. I ryse in y morning  
out of my bed so verely, that if I woulde  
speake with anye man, I shalbe sure to  
fynde him yet within. And if I haue any  
thyng adoe in the citie, I go about it, and  
take it for a walke. And if I haue no mat  
ter of great importance to do within the  
citie, my page bringeth my horse afoze in  
to the fieldes, and so I take the way to my  
ground for a walke, better peraduenture,  
than if I dyd walke in the galleries and  
walking places of the citie. And whan I  
come to my grounde, and if my tenants  
be either setting of trees, or tilling or re  
newyng the grounde, or sowyng, or ca  
rying of the fruite, I beholde how every  
thyng is done, & cast in my mynde, howe  
I might do it better. And afterwarde for  
the moste parte, I gette me a horsebacke  
and ryde as nere as I can, as though I  
were in warre constrained to do thesame,  
wherfore I doe not spare nother croked  
waies, nor no shrowde goynges by, no  
ditches, waters, hedges, nor trenches, ta  
kyng hede for all that, as nere as can bee  
possible, that in this doyng, I dooe not  
maime my horse. And whā I haue thus  
doen, the page leadeth the horse trotting  
home again, and carieth home with him  
into

Xenophons treatise

into the citie, out of the countrey, that I  
we haue nede of. And so than I gette me  
home againe, somtimes walking, & som-  
time renning. Than I washe my hādes  
and so go to diner good Socra. the which  
is ordeined betwene both, so that I abide  
all the daie nother boyde noz yet to full.  
Socrates. By my trouthe good Ischo-  
machus, ye doe these thynges wonders  
pleasauntly. For in deede to vse and occu-  
pie at ones all maner of thynges, that be  
ordeined for helth, for strength, for exer-  
cise of war, for studie and conueiaunce,  
how to get goodes, and all in one tyme,  
me thynketh a meruailous thing. For ye  
do thewe euident tokens, that ye applye  
your mynde well & truly to all this. For  
we se you commonly, thanked be God,  
for the moste part helthfull, stronge and  
lusty. Moreover we know, that ye be cal-  
led one of the beste horsemen, and one  
of the rychest men of the citie. Ischoma-  
chus. And though I thus doe, as ye haue  
hearde, yet can not I eschewe detraction:  
ye thought peraduenture, that I woulde  
haue sayde, I am therefore called a good  
honest manne. Socrates. And forlothe  
so I was about to saye, good Ischoma.  
But this I thoughte firste to enquire of  
you,



you whether ye doe study and sette your mynde, howe to aunswere these detrac-  
tors, and speake in a cause, whether it  
be your owne or an other mans, or to iudge  
it, if nede be. Ich. Thinke you that I doe  
not sufficiētly my part in this matter, if  
I thinke by my good deedes to defende  
my selfe, and do not wrong, and as much  
as I may helpe and do pleasure to many  
men? And mozeouer, thinke ye that it is  
not well done to accuse suche men, that  
doe wrong both to priuate men, and al-  
so to the citie, and that that wil do no mā  
good? Socra. But yet if ye set your mind  
to such thinges, I pray you shew it me?  
Ichomach. Forsooth I neuer stint, but  
am alwaye exercisynge my selfe in reto-  
ricke and eloquence. For whan I heare  
one of my seruātes cōplaine on an other  
or answere in his cause, I seke to knowe  
the truthe. Againe, I either blame some  
man to my frendes, or praise him, or els  
I go about to bying at one some men of  
myne acquaintaunce, that be at variāce,  
endeuouring my self, to shew them, how  
it is moze for their profite to be frendes  
than yll wyllers and enemies. And be-  
fore the hygher rulers, I vse both to com-  
mende and defende him, that is oppressed  
by

## Xenophons treatise

**Stryfe** **is**  
**a wyfe.**

by wrong & iniury, and before the lordes  
of the counsaile I accuse him, that I see  
promoted unworthely, and I prayse that  
that is doone by counsaile and delibera-  
cion, and the contrary I discommende.  
But I am nowe broughte to this point,  
that either it behoueth me to suffre, or to  
punishe. Socrates. Of whome I prayse  
the Ischomachus? For that do not I yet  
knowe. Ischomachus. Mary of my wife.  
Socra. But in what maner do ye stryue  
in your quarel? Ischoma. Whā she hap-  
peth to saye trouth, it is very gently  
done. But whan she lieth, and erreth in  
her wordes, forsothe Socra. I can not re-  
forme her. Socra. May chance that, that  
is false, ye can not make it trewe. But  
peradventure ye woulde be gone Icho.  
and I do let you. Truly I wold be loth  
to tary you, if it please you to go hence.  
Ischomachus. No in good feyth, good So-  
crates, I will not go hence tyll the court  
breake vp. Socrates. By my feyth, ye be  
right circumspecte, and take good hede,  
that ye lose not that honorable name, to  
be called a good honest man. For where  
peradventure ye haue many great busi-  
nesses and thynges to take heede to, that  
require great diligence: yet because ye



promised those strangers to tary for the  
 here, ye wyl not deceiue them. Ischoma.  
 As for those my busineses that ye speake  
 of Socrates, I haue provided for them  
 well inoughe. For I haue in the fieldes  
 my baillis of housbandry & my deputies.  
 Socr. But since we be fall in this comu-  
 nication, I praye you Ischomachus tell  
 me, when ye haue nede of a good baillie,  
 do ye enquire, whether there be any that  
 can do it well, and so fynde the meane to  
 haue him: likewise as whan ye haue ne-  
 de of a carpenter, whan ye knowe where  
 is one, that can good skyll therof, ye will  
 desire to haue him, or els do ye make your  
 baillies & deputies your self, & teache the  
 to do it? By my feith, I indenure me to  
 teache and instruct theim my self. For he  
 that shuld be sufficiēt to do those thinges  
 for me in mine absence, that he is put to,  
 what nedeth he to know any thyng, but  
 that that I doo my selfe? For if I be suf-  
 ficient to set men a worke, and comaūde  
 theim what they shall do, I trowe I am  
 able to teache another man that y I can  
 do my selfe. Socra. Than he y is a baillie  
 of housbandry must owe you good will &  
 fauour, and also to all yours, if he beyng  
 present, shalbe sufficiente in youre ab-  
 sence

## xenophons treatise

sence. For without loue and good wyll, what good can a baylie dooe, if he be neuer so experte and connyng? By my sayth, saied Ischomachus, neuer a whit: but as for me, the fyrst thyng that euer I doe, I goe about to teache him to loue me and myne, and to loue my goodes. And I pray you for goddes sake tell me, howe dooe ye teache hym to loue you & yours, whosoever he be that ye dooe this benefite vnto: By my sayth, sayde he, by gentill and liberall dealyng, whan God sendeth me plenty of anye matter thyng. Socrates. This ye meane I trowe, that they, the whiche be eased & holpe by your goodes or money, do loue you and desire that ye may do wel. Surely good Socrates sayd he, that is the beste instrumenty can be, to allure and get a mās good will with all. Socra. And whan he beareth you good wyll, good Ischomachus: is he therfore sufficient to be a bayly? For we maye see, that all men loue theim selves, and yet throughte sluggysshenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the which for the moste parte they coueyt ryghte much to haue, as goodes. Ischomachus. Ye but whā I wol make such mē as loue me, my bailes & overseers of my busines,



I instructe and monythe them befoze,  
how they should ouerse every thyng dy-  
ligently. Socrates. Can ye bzing that to  
passe? Forsoth me thinketh it is vnlikely  
that any man could be taught, to gide an  
other mā's busines a right. Ischoma. In  
very dede it is impossible good Socrates  
to instruct and teache every man diligen-  
tly to do it. Socra. And who be they that  
ye thinke mete to be taught & instructed?  
For that I desire very greatly to know.  
Ischoma. First of al thei that can not re-  
fraine them selues from dꝛōkennes, are  
excluded from this care. For dꝛōkennes  
bryngeth in with it forgetfulnes of all  
maner of thynges, that a man should do.  
Soc. Whether than is it impossible, but  
onely in them, y can not refrayne them  
from dꝛōkēnes, to make them diligen-  
t, or be there any other besyde? Wes mary  
sayde Ischomachus, and they also that  
can not refrayne them selfe from slepe.  
Socrates. Be there any mo beside those?  
We thynketh, sayde Ischomachus, that  
they, the whiche dooe sette their myndes  
sore to the pleasure of the fleshe, that it  
is impossible to teache thē to haue moze  
mynde to any thyng than to that: For  
they can fynde nother hoope nor fūdye  
f. y. more

## xenophons treatise

more pleasaunt to them then of their lo-  
uers. And whan they haue any thyng  
to dooe, it is harde to imagine a lozer pu-  
nishment, than that is to them, to be kept  
from them they be in loue with. There-  
fore I let suche maner of men go, nor ne-  
uer go about to teache them to be more  
diligent. Socra. Ye but they that do sette  
their mynde soze to lucre, be not they apt  
to be taught that diligēce, y<sup>e</sup> which shuld  
be bled and occupied in your grounde?  
Ischo. Yes mary thei, there can none be  
soner brought to th<sup>e</sup> diligēce. For ye nede  
no more but onely to shewe them that  
diligence is very profitable. Wherefore if  
I chaunce to haue suche one, I commēd  
him muche. Socrates. And as for other  
men, the whiche doe refrayne them frō  
suche thynges as ye do cōmaunde, & haue  
a metely good mynde towarde lucre, how  
do ye teache them to be as diligent as ye  
would haue them? Ischoma. Mary very  
well good Socra. For whan I see them  
diligent, I dooe both preise and rewarde  
them. And agayne, whan I se them ne-  
gligent and rechelesse, I both doo and say  
all that euer I can to anger and bere the  
with. Socrates. Ye but Ischomachus,  
sauiug your tale, that is of them, that be  
al



alredy instructed to be diligent: Tell me this touchyng the instruction of theim, whether it be possible for a man, that is naturally negligent, to make other diligent: I scho. No by my faith, no more than he that hath no skyll in musike can make other men musicians. For it is hard for a scholer to learne that thyng well, that his maister teacheth yll. And it is harde for a seruant to vse any diligence, whā his maister geueth him example of negligence. And shortly to speake and in generall, I do not remembre, that euer I herd, that any yll maister had any good seruantes. Mary this haue I seene, that a good diligent maister by his chastising of dull headed seruantes, hath lightly instructed them. But he that wyl go about to make other diligent in their worke, he most specially ought to be a prouidēt and a ware man, and ouerse and marke their workes. And whan there is any thyng well and dilygently doone, he muste cunne hym great thāke that dyd it, and he must not stycke to punish the hym sharpely, according as he deserueth, that is negligēt in his busynes. And forsoth me thynketh to this purpose it is a ryght goodly answer, that the Persian made. For whan

Dilige  
maisters  
make good  
seruantes

## Xenophons treatise

the kyng of Perse asked him, ryding vpon a ryght fayre hourse, what thyng dydsonest make an hourse fatte, he sayde his maisters eyes. Some thinke lykewyse good Socrates, by al other thynges, that the maisters eye moste specially maketh them to be in farre better plite. Socra. But whā ye haue tolde and shewed hym very well, and with great instance, that he must take hede to suche thynges, as ye wyll haue hym, and that he is very diligent, is he than mete to be your baylye or steward, or els must he learne somethat beside to make him fit for that purpose? Ischomachus. No I wis man. For it behoueth hym yet to learne, what he must do, and whan, and howe he shal order euery thyng. For els what auayleth a baylye or a steward more without this, than a physicion, the whiche night and daye, early and late taketh heede to a sycke man, and yet he woteth not what is profitable for the same pacient. Socrates. And whan he knoweth what is to be dooen, shall he nede any thyng els, or shall he than be a perfect baylye or steward? Ischomachus. He thinketh, that he shuld learne also to rule the workemen. Socrates. And do ye teache your baylye



oz Stewarde to be able to rule: I gooe a-  
bout it at least, sayde Ischomachus. So-  
crates. And I pray you for Goddes sake,  
howe do ye teache men to haue the sciēce  
to rule and commaunde: Ischoma. Very  
easily good Socra. in so muche, that I  
thinke ye shall laugh at it, whan ye here  
it. Socra. Forsoth good Ischo. saide I, it  
is no mater to laugh at, but he deserueth  
& ought rather to be highly lauded, that  
hath y wit to teache that. For he that can  
teache me how to rule, he can also make  
them maisters, and he that can make  
them maisters, can make the princelike  
and able to be kynges. Ischo. Surely all  
maner of beastes, good Socra. do learne  
to obey by y reason of these two thinges,  
that is to saie, whan they do strue & will  
not be obedient, thei be punished: & whan  
they do quickly that that a man biddeth  
them, they be cheryshed and well increa-  
ted. Coltes and yonge hozles learne to  
obey their breakers & tamers: For whan  
they dooe obeye them, they haue some-  
what done to the for it, y is to their plea-  
sure and ease: But whan they wyl not o-  
bey, they beate & handel them very sore &  
roughly for it, vntill the tyme they serue  
the breaker at his wyl. And yonge spaw

## Xenophons treatise

nels lyke wyse, the whiche be worse than  
me a great deale, for lacke of reason, and  
for lacke of speche, yet they learne to ren  
about to fetch or cary, to goe into the  
water after the same maner. For whan  
they obeye, they haue somewhat geuen  
them, that they haue nede of, and whan  
they will not, nor care not for it, they be  
punished. But as for men they may be  
wel perswaded & brought to obedience, if  
a man will shewe them, howe it shalbe  
for their profite, if they doe obey. Neuer-  
theles vnto bondmen and vile persones,  
that way that is used & occupied towarde  
beastes, wyll very well induce them for  
to learne to obey. For if ye doe somewhat  
for their bealie, and make them fare wel,  
ye shall gette very muche done of them.  
But only stomackes & noble natures be  
moste moued and sturred with preyse.  
For there be some natures, that doe de-  
sire as muche laude and preyse as other  
doe meate and drinke. And whan I haue  
taught him, that I wil make my baily or  
my steward, such thinges & which whan  
I doe them my selfe, me thynketh I shall  
make men more obedient vnto me, I do  
ioyne th<sup>t</sup> vnto it beside. For as touching  
hosen and howes, and other rayment,  
the



the whiche I muste geue my labourers,  
I make the not alyke. For there be some  
better and some worse: to the entent that  
the best workmen may haue the preemy-  
nence to haue the better, and the worst  
may be geuen to the worst. For me thin-  
keth, it greuethe good seruantes verpe  
soze, whā thei se that the worke that thei  
haue done, and how those haue even as  
muche as they, that wyl not labour nor  
take peyne, whan it behoueth to do it.

Wherefore nother I my selfe wyl not suf-  
fre, that they that be worst, and they that  
be best, sholde be serued all a lyke. And  
whā I see that my baylyes and deputies  
doe geue the most and the best to the that  
doe best, I do preyle him for it. But and  
I se him prefer any man afoze other, be-  
cause of his flatterynge, or for some other  
peynful cause, I do not suffre it so to pas-  
se, but I blame and rebuke hym greatlye  
therfoze, and I goe about to teache hym  
also, that that, the whiche he doth, is not  
for his profite nother. Socra. And whā  
he is sufficient thus to rule and guyde,  
good Ischomachus, so that he can make  
them to obey him, do ye thynke that bay-  
ly perfect on euery side: or hath he nede of  
any other thyng elles? Yes marve, sayed  
Ischo.

## Xenophons treatise

Ischomachus, for it becometh hym to kepe hys handes cleane frome his maysters goodes, & beware that he steale nothinge therof. For if he, that hath the frutes in his handes, wold be so bolde to conuey so muche out of the waye, that that, whych remainned were not sufficient to maynteyne the worke and finde the labourers, what profyt shulde we haue by his bawlethe thyppe, and by his diligence: Socrates. And do you in dede take vpon you to teach theym that iustyce and ryghtfulness: yes mary sayd Ischomachus: but I fynd that euery man doeth not obey and folowe thys teachyng and instruction of myne. Neuerthelesse I take here a pece of Dracons lawes, and here a ppyece of Solons, & so endeuour my selfe to byng my seruauntes to folow iustice. For me thynketh that these men haue made many lawes to teache men iustice. For they haue wrytten, that he must be punysshed that stealeth, and he that robbeth must be put in pryson and put to death. Wherefore it may be clerely sens, that they haue wrytten those thynges to the intent that they, the whiche doe gette any goodes foule and shamefully, contrary to reason and equitee, shulde haue no bantage nor



no profite by it. And whā I haue this do,  
I bypge in besyde somme lawes of the  
kyng of Persse, to make my seruantes  
deale ryght fully in that they be put to.

Foz as thouchyng Dzacons and Solōs  
lawes, they doe no more but punyſhe the Persiens  
that do amysse, but the kyng of Persyes lawes.

lawes do not onelye punyſhe them that  
do wꝛonge and vniustly, but also they do  
them good that be ryghtful and deale iu-  
stly. Wherby it appereth, that many, the  
whiche be berve couetous, and care not  
what they doe, so that they may wyne,  
whan they see that they, the whiche bee  
ryghtful and good, were rycher thā they,  
the whiche doe other men wꝛonge, they  
contynue and prospere well in thys that  
thei doe no man wꝛong. And whā I per-  
ceiue, that any of theſe, vnto the whiche  
I haue ben good and shewed pleasure vn-  
to them, wil not leaue, but go about styll  
to doe wꝛonge and deale vniustlye, than  
whan I perceyue that he is past al reme-  
dy, I put hym out of his rōume and wyll  
not let hym occupy it no more. But whā  
I perceyue, that any of them setteth hys  
mynde and courage to bee good, a iust &  
a true seruante, and doth it not so muche  
because they thynke to haue some baun-  
tage

## Xenophons treatise

age by it, but for y desire that they haue  
to please me & to be praised of me, though  
they be bounde men, I ble the as fre me,  
& for their ioly free hert, I doe not onely  
promote theym in goodes and ryches,  
but also preyle and commende theim, as  
good and honest men. For me thinketh  
that an honest man, that is despyous of  
honour, doth differ in this poynt from a  
couetous man, that for prayse & honour  
wyl take payne and put him selfe in ieo-  
pardy, whan it is nedefull: and yet kepe  
him selfe cleane from foule lucre. And  
thus whan ye haue ones ingendred and  
fastened this affection in a man, that he  
oweth you good wyl, & bereth you good  
loue & fauour, and that ye haue broughte  
hym to this point, that he wyl applie his  
mynd & diligēce to dooe euen as ye wold  
your selfe, and beside that ye haue gotten  
him the science, how euery worke that is  
done shall be most profytable, and made  
hym also sufficient and able to rule, and  
that he wyl beside this byrnyng and shewe  
you the frutes of the grounde none other  
wise than ye woulde to your selfe: whe-  
ther nedeth he any thing els or not I wil  
speake no moze, for me thinketh, y suche  
a man shulde be a very good and a profy-  
table



table steward and deputie. Socra. But  
I praise you good Ischomachus, doe not  
leave behinde that parte, which we haue  
so lightly runne ouer. And what is that  
saied Ischomachus: Socrates. Mary ye  
saied, that the greatestt poynt of all was  
to learne how euery thyng shuld be done  
to the ende that p2ofite therby shuld rylse  
vnto vs, for otherwise ye sayed, that dili-  
gence coulde anayle nothyng, excepte a  
man knew what and how to doe. Ischo.  
Doe ye byd me to teache you the sciēce of  
housebandrye: For sothe it is it, sayed I,  
that maketh them riche, that can wel oc-  
cupy it: and they that cā not, though they  
take neuer so much payne, they liue wret-  
chedly. Ischo. Nowe than fyyste of all ye  
shal here how gentyl a science it is. For  
seyng it is most profitable and pleasaunt  
to occupy, most goodliest, best beloued of  
god and of men, and beside that most ea-  
sie to learne, how shulde it not be a ien-  
tyll science: For we call all these beastys  
gentyl, the whiche be goodlye, great and  
profitable, and be not fyerse but tame a-  
monge men. Socra. But me thynkethe,  
good Ischomachus. That I haue verpe  
wel perceiued, that where ye sayed, how  
a man muste teache a steward, and a de-  
puty

## Xenophons treatise

puty, and that ye taught hym to owe you good loue and good wyll, and lyke wyse, that ye went about to make hym diligent, able to rule, and also rightfule, but where ye sayed, that he, whiche wyl be diligent in dede in husbandry, must lerne what is to be done, howe, and in what season, methynkethe we haue ouer passed it some what to quickely and to negligently. Like wyse as yf ye sayd, that he, the whiche wyl wrytte that that a man speaketh, and rede that that is wrytten, must know his letters. For he that dyd here this, hath herd nothyng els, but that he must lerne to knowe his letters. But whan he percepueth, y he is neuer the nether to know what letters do meane. And nowe lyke wyse I beleue very wel, that he, y which wyl vse diligēce in husbandry, must lerne to knowe wel husbandry: but though I beleue and knowe that well, yet am I neuer the wyser, how to occupy housbandry. And if I were euen nowe determyned to fall to housbandry, I wold thynke I were lyke a phisicion, the which goeth about and lokethe vpon sicke mē, yet can he not tell what is good for them. And therfore to thend I be not suche one, teach me the very poynt and cast of husbandry.



dy. Forsooth good Socrates, sayed he, it is not by this as by other craftes & sciences, that he whiche lerneth the must be a long time about theym, and bestow much peyne and labour in them, er he can doe any thyng to get his luyng by.

Housebandy is nothyng so harde to lerne: for ye shal learne it euen anone lokig vpon the laboures, and partly by hering speke of it, so that if ye wyl ye may teche it vnto other. And truely other artificers and craftes me do hide and kepe priuey to theym selfe the beste poyntes of theyr sciences, the good housebande men, be yf letterh trees best, he wyl haue very great pleasure, yf any man beholde hym, and he yf soweth after the same maner. And if ye aske him of any thyng that is well wrought, I am sure he wyll neuer kepe from you, howe he dyd it. And so good. Socrates, housebandy techeth the that be couersant in it to be of gentil maners and disposition. Socrates. Forsooth this is a good beginnyng, and now I haue herd you tel this much it is vnpossible to stop me frome inquerieng of you further therof. And therfore seyng ye saie it is a thyng so easy to lerne, doe y rather shew it me. For it is no shame to you to teache  
that

## Xenophons treatise

Knowes  
lage of  
good  
ground.

that that is easy : but it is rather a great  
shame to me yf I cā it not, specially whā  
it is so profitable . And therfore I wyl  
shew vnto you fyrst of al saied Ischoma-  
chus, that y<sup>e</sup> whiche is the diffulest point  
of al housebandy, as they saye, whyche  
dispute of it most exactly in wordes, and  
in dede occuppe it neuer a whitte, is no-  
thyng harde at all. For they saye, that he  
that wyl be a good housebande mā, must  
fyrste knowe the nature of the grounde.  
Socrates. In dede they seme to say wel,  
For he y<sup>e</sup> doth not know what the ground  
wil bring forth, I trow he can not know  
nother what seede he shuld sow, nor what  
trees is best to set. Ischomachus . And  
therfore a man maye knowe by an other  
mans grounde, what it wil bring forth,  
and what it wyl not, whan he seeth both  
the frutes and also the trees. And whan  
he knoweth it ones, it is not for his pro-  
fite to stryue agaynst god and nature.  
For if a man doth eyther sowe or sette y<sup>e</sup>  
that he hath nede of, he is neuer the ne-  
rer to haue that that is necessari for him  
except the ground doe in a maner deelyte  
and take pleasure bothe to bring it forth  
and to nozise it. But if he can not know  
the goodnes and fertilitie of the ground  
by



by reason of the idelnes and neglygence  
of them that haue it in hande: he shal of-  
tentimes better know it by some grounde  
that is not farre frō it, than of the neigh-  
bour that dwelleth by it. And although  
the grounde be vntilled and vnlaboured  
yet it sheweth his owne nature. For that  
grounde, that bereth good wyld fruytes  
and wedes, wyll bryng forth, if it be take  
hede to, and wel tilled other good frutes  
and herbes as wel as them. So that they  
that be not all of the best scene in house-  
bandy, can wel discern the nature of y  
grounde. Socrates. For sothe good Al-  
chomachus. I maye be bolde to byde by  
this, that a man nedeche not to absteyne  
from housebādny, for feare least he know  
not the nature of the grounde. For I do  
remembze, that fpyshers, whych be al-  
wayes occupied in the see, the whych  
come not to beholde the grounde howe it  
is, nor walke not fayre & softly, but rene  
euen throughe it, whā they se the frutes  
on the grounde, they wyll not stycke to  
shew their opinion of the ground, whiche  
is good, and whiche is badde, and pseyse  
this, and dyspseyse that. And I see they  
wyll be commynge oftentimes wth  
men, that can very good skil in husebandy.

Xenophons treatise

dyng, and shew them very many thinges  
touching a good ground. Ischomachus.  
Where than wyl ye haue me to begyn  
good Socrates to declare husbandry vnto  
you, lest I reherse somewhat that ye  
know already: for I perceiue, ye be ryght  
expert ther in: Socrates. This me thyng  
keth both profitable and a very gret pleasure  
to lerne, and also it belongeth especially  
to a philosopher to know, how I  
myght, if I wolde, by tilling and labouring  
the grounde, haue very much plenty  
of barley, rie, whete, and other cozne.  
Ischomachus: This I trow ye knowe  
wel enough, that salowynge and stirring  
of the grounde, helpeth very much to the  
sowynge. Socrates. Forsooth so I do. Ischoma-  
chus. And what if we shoulde beginne  
to salowe and plowe the ground in winter:  
Soc. That were nought. For than  
perch shoulde be al dymy. Ist. And what  
thynke ye in sommer: Socrat. Than it  
wolde be to herde to plough it. Ischoma-  
chus. Wel than we must nedes begin in  
the spryng of the yere. Socra. Ye maye,  
for then it is most likely, that the ground  
openeth and spredeth his owne strength  
and vertue about, whan it is salowed and  
tilled in that tyme. Ischomachus. Pea  
and



and beside that good Socrates, the pong  
 weedes turned vp so downe at that tyme,  
 be as good to the grounde as any down-  
 gynge: and they be not yet come to that  
 strengthe, that the seede of theim caste a-  
 downe cā grow vp agayne. And I trow  
 ye know this well enough, that if the fa-  
 lowyng, and the tyllyng of the grounde  
 should be good, the ground must be clea-  
 ne kept and deliuered frome weedes, and  
 wel fauourdli heated and warmed of the  
 so. So. We thinketh in very dede it shuld  
 be so. Als. And do ye think, that that can  
 be better broughte to passe by any other  
 meane than if the ground be often times  
 stirred in Sommer? Socrates. I knowe  
 very well, that the weedes can neuer bet-  
 ter wyther awaye and drye vp, nor the  
 ground be better heated through the heate  
 of the sonne, than if the ground be plou-  
 ghed and styred in the myddes of som-  
 mer, and in the myddes of the daye. And  
 yf any man doe followe, or dygge y ground  
 wyth hys owne handes, is it not clere  
 enoughe, that he also muste separate a  
 sonder the weedes fro the grounde, and  
 cast the weedes abrode, that they may dry  
 vp, and turne vp so downe and styre the  
 ground, that the sozonelle and the rawe  
 G.ii. warreil,

## Xenophons treatise

waटरpſthenes of it maye be warmed and  
wel dried vp: Iſchoma. Than ye ſe well  
good Socrat. how we be both in one opi  
nion, touchynge ſolowynge and ſtirryng  
of the grounde. Socrates. So me thyn  
keth: And touching ſowing, haue ye any  
other knowledge or opinion, but that is  
the ſeaſon to ſowe, the whiche both men  
of olde antyquitee, approuing it by expe  
rience, and al they, that be now, takynge  
it of theym, dooe iudge it beſt of all: For  
whā the ſommer is ones paſt, and Sep  
tembze cometh in, all men that be in the  
worlde do loke vpon almyghty god, that  
whā it ſhalbe hys pleaſure to ſende ſome  
rayne, and make the grounde wete and  
moſtwe, that they maye fall to ſowynge  
euen as he commandeth it. Socra. And  
ſo forth good Iſchoma. Al the men in the  
worlde haue determined by one aſſente,  
that they wyl not ſow whan the ground  
is drie. And it is clere to euery man, that  
they take great loſſes and damages, that  
wyl goe about to ſowe afore god byddeth  
them. Iſchomachus. Than in theſe thin  
ges al we mē do agre. Socr. For in that  
that god teacheth, it ſoloweth that euery  
man agreeeth in it: As for a ſymilitude,  
Euery man thinketh beſt to weare good  
furred



surred and wel lined golwes in winter,  
yf he be able, and also to make good fyre,  
if he haue wodde. Ischomachus. Yea but  
there be many, the which do vary in this  
touchinge sowynge, whether it be best to  
sowe in the beginnyng, in the middes, or  
at the latter ende. Socrat. And god doth  
not seede euery yere of one like temperat-  
nes of wether. For sometymes it is best  
to sowe in the begynnynge, some tymes  
in the myddes, some tymes at the latter  
end. Ischomachus. But what thynke ye  
best gentyll Socrates, whan so euer a  
manne hath chosen his sowynge tyme,  
or euer moze in this tyme, or now in this  
and now in that, whether is it beste to  
sowe muche seede or littel? Socrates. He  
thynketh best of all good Ischomachus,  
to distribut the seede, wel, ful, and trew-  
ly. For I suppose it is a great deale bet-  
ter, to take corne enough euer moze, tha  
sometymes to muche and sometymes to  
lyttel. And in this point also good So-  
crates saied he, you beyng the lerner, do  
agre with me the teacher, and you haue  
shewed your opinion afoze me. Sacra-  
tes. But what of that sayed I, for in the  
castyng of the seede, there is muche cou-  
nyng? Ischomachus. In any case good

## Xenophons treatise

Socrates, lette vs loke vpon that. For ye knowe well, that it muste be cast with a mans hande. Socrates. Forsoth I haue sene it done so. Ischomachus. But some can cast it euen, and some can not. Socrates. Wel than it lacketh nothyng els but to exercise the hande, as harpers and luters do, that it may folow the mynde. Ischomachus. It is very wel saied: But what yf the grounde be thynner or grosser? Socrates, what meane you by that? Do ye not take the thynner for the weaker, and the grosser for the stronger? Ischomachus. That same meane I. Socrates. And this wolde I sayne know of you, whether ye wil geue as muche seds to the one as to the tother, or els whiche of theym wyl ye geue more vnto? Ischomachus. In the wyne that is strong, me thinketh it behoueth to put y more water, and the man that is stronger muste beare the gretter burthen, yf ther be any thyng to be caried, and some men are fed and nourysed with sklender fare, and y same herin must be obserued. Socrates. Thynke you not that the grounde warreth stronger, if a man do put more fruit in it, likewise as mollest horses do ware stronger wth carpage, y wolde I desire you



pon to teache me. **Whan** Ischomachus  
herd that, he sayed: **What** Socrates, ye  
iest with me. **But** yet sayed he, take this  
for a very suretie, that whan a man hath  
sowen any seede in y<sup>e</sup> ground, loke whan  
the grounde hath most cōfort of the ayre,  
with wete and moystenes, if the corne be  
grene newly rysen out of the earth, if he  
styre and turne it in agayne, it is as yf  
it were a sustinance to the grounde, and  
gettethe as muche strength by it, as yf it  
had ben donged. **But** yf ye suffre the  
grounde contynuallye to bypnge for the  
fruite of the seede, it is harde for a weake  
grounde to bypnge forth muche fruyte  
fyll, lyke wyse as it is hard for a weake  
sowe to geue sucke & sustinance to many  
pygges, and kepe theym fat and in good  
plite whan they ware gret. **Socrates.** ye  
saye good Ischomac. that ye muste sowe  
lesse seede on a weaker grounde. **Ischom.**  
**Socr.** I doe in dede good Socrat. and ye  
also did graunt it vnto me a lyttell afore,  
whan ye sayd, that ye thought, y<sup>e</sup> the wea  
kest shuld be least charged. **Soc.** **But** for  
what reason good Ischoma. doe ye make  
diches in the corne fieldes? **Ischomac.** ye  
wotte well, y<sup>e</sup> in winter are many show  
ers. **Socra.** what therof? **Ischomachus.**

## Xenophons treatise

Many therof chaunce many hurtes: for a gret part of the felde is surrounded wyth water, and y<sup>e</sup> corne couered in mude, and the rootes of muche of y<sup>e</sup> corne ar worne and washed away wyth the water: and further often times by reaso<sup>n</sup> of the great abundance of water, there cometh much wedes and other harlotry, that suppres- seth and destroyeth the corne. Socrates. It is lyke inoughe, that all this shuld be. Ischomachus. And thynke ye than, that the corne beyng in that takynge, hath not nede to be holpe? Socra. Yea mary. Ischomachus. Than if the corne be coue- red wyth mud, what shall we do to helpe it? Socrates. Many ease the ground, and make it lyghter. Ischo. But what yf the rootes be waxed thyn and almost worne away? Socrates. Than ye muste cast to more erthe, that it maye take roote and growe agayne. Ischoma. But what yf the wedes and other harlotry suck vp the moysture from the corne, lyke as y<sup>e</sup> drone bees, the whiche beyng theym selves vn- profitable, do robbe away and eate vp y<sup>e</sup> bees vitayles, that they had set vp for to worke wyth? Socrates. Many the wedes and harlotrye muste be pluckte and cut awaye, lyke wyse as the drone bees are voided



voided out of y<sup>e</sup> hyues. Ischoma. I thinke  
you than that we do not make the ditches  
& sloughes in the fieldes for a good cause?  
Socrates. Forsothe so it is: but I thinke  
nowe in my mynde good Ischoma. What  
a thyng it is to byng in similitudes and  
likenesses. For ye haue moued me moze a  
great deale, & made me moze displeased a-  
gainst these wedes, whan ye spake of the  
dooone bees, than whan ye spake of the  
weddes them selves. But nowe after this  
said I, haruest season wil come, wherfor  
I pray you tell me, if ye haue any thyng  
to teache me in this matter. Ischo. So I  
will if ye do not shewe your selfe, that ye  
know it as wel as I. This ones ye know  
that the corne must alway be reaped.

Socra. What els? Ischo. Whether than  
must ye stande to reape it with the wind  
or against the winde? Socra. Not aginst  
the wynde, for it would be a great peine,  
as I thinke, both for the eyes and also for  
the handes, to reape against the eares,  
blowen downe with the wynde. Ischo.  
And how wyl ye cutte it, at the very top-  
pes, or euen by the grounde? Socrates.

If the stalke be short, I wyl cut it alow,  
that there may be straw enough: But if  
it be very hie, I thinke better to cutte it  
in

To reape  
corne.

## Xenophons treatise

in the middell, to the intent that nother the  
threshers nor the fanners, shal take more  
paine in baine than nedeth, and that that  
remayneth, I thynke if it be burned, it  
will do the ground very much good, and  
if it be layde with the dounge, it will fyll  
and encrease it. Ischomachus. Doe ye see  
now frende Socrates, how ye be take in  
the very deede doying, that ye knowe as  
well as I, what longeth to reappng? So-  
crates. In feyth I am aserd, least it be so  
in deede: And now we will I see likewise  
whether I can thresh the or not. Ischoma-  
chus. This ye knowe well, that horses  
do thresh coine. Socrates. Why should  
I not: and not only horses, but also mope-  
les, and Oren likewise? Ischomachus.  
But howe canne these beastes stampe  
well and thresh the coine even as they  
should good Socrates? Socrates. It is  
clere, that it is by the reason of theim,  
which haue the charge of the threshing.  
For they dooe euer more turne and sty-  
and put vnder their feete that that is vn-  
threshed, and so they must nedes make  
it even, and make an ende of it as quick-  
ly as may bee. Ischomachus. Than as  
for this busynes, ye knowe it as well as  
I. Socrates. Nowe after this good Is-  
choma-

To thresh  
coine.



chomachus, let vs cleſe the corne & wyne  
nowe it. Iſcho. Tel me thā good Socra.  
do ye know this, that if ye begyn to wyne  
now it in that parte of the winnowyng  
place, where the wynde is againſt you, &  
the chaffe wil be ſcattered abrode througħ  
all the winnowyng place? Soc: It muſt  
nedes, Iſcho. Than it muſt nedes as wel  
fall vpon the corne. Socra. Merely it is  
no ſmal point to make the chaffe to go be  
yonde the corne in a voyde rōme of the  
winnowyng place: But if a man begin to  
winow vnder the wynde, or a ſyde halfe  
of it, than it is clere, that all & chaffe wil  
boide to the place that is ordeined for it.  
Iſcho. But whā ye haue clenſed & corne  
euen to the middel of & winnowyng place,  
whether than, the corne being thus ſcat-  
tered abrode, will ye wyne the rem-  
naint, or wyll ye put firſt together on a  
heape, as narrowly as can be, all that  
euer is cleane? Socrates. Forſoth I wil  
ſyſte put together on a heape all that is  
cleane, leſt peradventure the chaffe be ca-  
ried about the winnowyng place, wherby  
I ſhoulde be ſayne to wyne twyſe one  
thyng. Iſchomachus. Now than gentill  
Socrates, ye may teachē an other mā, if  
ye wil, how he ſhal ſoneſt gette his corne  
clene

## Xenophons treatise

clensed. Socrates. In good feythe I had almost forgot, y I coulde all this a great whyle ago. And now I cast in my minde whether I haue forgotten my selfe, that I can play on the harpe, play vpon recorders, peinte, and carue, and other sciences. For there was neuer man, y taught me these no more than to be a housbande man. And I see as wel other men worke in their sciences as housbandmē labour the ground. Ischomachus. And dyd not I tell you but a littel afoze, y this science of housbandry is wonders pleasaunte, & very easy to lerne. Socrates. I know very well good Ischomachus, that I vnderstode and coulde all maner of thynges, y do longe to sowyng, but I haue forgotte my selfe, that I could them. But the setting of trees sayd I, is that any point of housbandry? Ischomachus. Yes mary. Socrates. Howe happeneth than, that I knewe wel all suche thynges as longe to earvyng and sowyng, and am ignoraunte in that that longeth to planting of trees? Ischomachus. We ye ignoraūt in deede? Socra. I must nedes be, seyng I knowe not in what ground a man shoulde set a tree, nor howe deepe, nor of what length nor what bzeade it be sette in, nor whan  
it is

Setting  
of trees.

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it is in the grounde, howe it shall beste  
growe and come vp. Ischomachus.

Wel than learne that that ye know not.  
I am sure ye haue sene, what pittes they  
make for trees that do set them? Socra.

That I haue very many tymes. Ischo-

machus. And did ye neuer se any of them  
deper then thze fote? Socrates. No mary

I, noz yet deper than two foote & a halfe.

Ischomachus. And as for the bread dyd  
you euer se any bzoder than thzee foote?

Socra. Forsoth and God, I neuer sawe  
none past two fote & a halfe bzode. Ischo.

Nowe aunswere me this againe. Did ye

euer se any of lesse altitude than two fote  
and a halfe. For if the plantes were but

shalowe sette, they woulde sone be wy-  
thred vp. Ischomachus. Than it is appa-

rant inough to you good Socrates, that  
they dygge the pyttes to sette in trees, no

dyper than two fote and a halfe. Socr. It

must nedes be so, seying it is so clere. Is-

chomachus. But touchyng the ground,  
do ye knowe whiche is drie and whiche

is wete, if ye see it. Socrates. We thyn-

keth the grounde, that lieth about Lica-

betus, oz any other that is lyke vnto it,  
is drie groude: And that is called a wete

groude, the whiche lieth about Phale-

ricus,

## Xenophons treatise

ricus, full of maris all about, and any o-  
ther like vnto it. Ischoma. Whether thā  
wyll ye digge bp a deepe pitte to sette in  
trees in the drie grounde or in the wete?  
Socra. In the drie ground verely. For if  
ye shoulde make a depe pytte in the wete  
grounde, ye shoulde fynde water: and thā  
ye could not set it in the water. Ischoma.  
We thinketh ye say very wel. And whan  
the pittes be digged bp, ye knowe what  
trees be mete for both groundes? Socra-  
tes. Very well. Ischoma. And if ye wold  
that the tree, whiche ye doe sette, shoulde  
grow and come bp well fauouredly, whe-  
ther thynke ye it will better spzyng and  
ware mighty and strong if ye set vnder-  
neth earth that hath bene laboured & oc-  
cupied afore, or els suche as hath bene  
alway vnoccupied? Socrates. It is clere  
enough sayd I, that it will growe & come  
bp better by the reason of the earth occu-  
pied, than of the ground vnoccupied. Is-  
chomachus. Thā there must some earth  
be put vnderneath. Socra. Why shoulde it  
not? Ischo. But whether thinke ye, that  
the vinebranche, the which ye sette, wyll  
gether rotes better, if ye sette it if reyght  
bpight, or if ye sette it croked vnder the  
ground, so that it be lyke these greke letter

p, tur



turned vp ſet down: Socra. Marye enē  
ſo. For than there ſhalbe the moze rotes  
in the earth, wherby the plant ſhal ſtāde  
the faſter, and ſo many the mo bzaūches  
ſhall ſprynge vp. Alſchomachus. Wel thā  
in this matter we haſe both one opiniō.  
But whether wyl ye no moze but caſte  
the earth to the plante that ye ſet, or elles  
will ye treade and ramme it hard down?  
Socra. Forſoth I will treade and ſtāpe  
it harde to, for els it were leopardy, leaſt  
the rayne would lightly perce in and ſo  
rotte & marre the rotes, or els the ſunne  
dryng the earth away from the rotes of  
the plante, ſhould lewele and vnfaſten it,  
and ſo kyll it. Alſcho. Well than good So-  
crates, we be bothe of one opinion con-  
chyng ſetting of vynes. Socrates. And  
ſhal I ſet a ſygge tree after the ſame ma-  
ner: Alſcho. Yeſ I trowe, & all other trees  
lykelwyſe. For if ye can ſette vynes well,  
what other ſettyng is there but that ye  
may take it vpon you likewyſe? Socra.  
But how ſhould we ſet olyue trees good  
Alſchomachus: I pray you proue afore a-  
ny thing, whether I can any ſkille there-  
in. Alſcho. Ye ſe how there is a good depe  
pitte digged for an olyue tree. I wote wel  
ye could not choſe but ſee it, ſeyng thei be  
digged

## Xenophons treatise

digged euen by the hyghe wayes syde.  
Also ye see howe the verye stockes of the  
olives bee sette in the setyn place . And  
farther ye se how there is clay layde vpo  
the toppes of them: And how of all trees  
that be planted , there are none couered  
aboue, but onely the same. Socrates. All  
this I see wel. Ischomach. and whan ye  
see it, what shulde be the let, that ye shuld  
not knowe it : excepte peraduenture ye  
canne not tel howe to clappe a shel fast to  
the clay , that is set on the toppe ther of:  
Socrates. By my saythe, of all thys that  
ye haue spoken, there is nothynge but I  
knowe it. And nowe I cast in my mynde  
agayne, what is the cause, that whan ye  
asked me but a lyttell afoze in generall,  
whether I coude set tres , I sayed no.  
For me thought I coude not tel howe a  
man should sette trees. But after ye be-  
ganne to enquire of me euery thynge by  
it selfe , I aunswered you accordynge to  
your mynde, and to your owne opinion,  
the which is called the most perfect hus-  
band man, that is now at this day alive.  
Is not my chaunce good Ischoma. saied  
I, askyng a maner of teachynge: For I  
haue learned and can well nowe euerye  
thing by it selfe, what so euer ye haue de-  
maunded



maunded of me. For ye leade me by such  
thynges, as I am skylled in and vnder-  
stande, vnto suche thynges as I percey-  
ued not: and so ye perswade & make me  
beleue, that I knowe them as wel as the  
tother. Ischomachus. Well, thynke ye,  
that if I asked you after thesame maner,  
touching syluer or golde, which is good  
and whiche is badde, that I coude per-  
swade you, that ye be a good finer of gold  
and syluer: And againe, I could not per-  
swade you, if I asked you neuer so much  
that ye can play vpon recorders, or that  
ye can paynte, or doe any suche thynges.  
Socra. Peraduenture yes. For ye haue  
perswaded me, that I haue wel the sciēce  
of housbandry, and yet I knowe well,  
that there was neuer anye bodye, that  
taught me that science. Ischomachus.  
It is not so good Socrates: For I haue  
tolde you a pzetyp whyle ago, that housbā-  
dry is so pleasant and so familiar a sciēce  
that they the whiche dooe either se it, or  
here tell of it, be euen by and by well ler-  
ned in it. And also it sheweth many thin-  
ges it self for a man to learne, how to or-  
der it best. For euen at the fyrst the vine,  
the whiche creepeth vpon the trees, if  
there be any nere hande, sheweth, that it  
H. j. would

## xenophons treatise

would be holpen by and susteined. And whan it spzeaceth abzode his leaues and bzaunches, the grapes beyng yet but very tender, it sheweth, that in that season, it woulde haue shadowe made there vnto it, where as the heate of the sonne lieth soze vpon it. And whan it is tyme for the grapes to ware ripe & swete, the whiche is caused onely by heate of the sonne, it letteth the leaues fall, to teache the husbandmen, that it woulde be lyghtned and eased, that the fruite maye the better ware ripe. And whan that by the reason it hath bzought forth muche fruite, and some are ripe and some not, it sheweth, that those clousters that be ripe, must be gathered, lyke as on fygge trees they must be taken downe, that be ripe and redy to be gathered. Socrates. How can this be, good Ischomachus, if husbandry bee so easy to learne, & every man knoweth what is to be done, as well one as an other, that they haue not a lyuyng by it all a lyke? For some haue great plenty and lyue welthely, & other some haue scantly so muche as they nede, and be in dette to other men? Ischomachus. Mary I wpll tell you good Socrates, it is nother y knowlage nor lacke of knowlage of



of housbande menne, that maketh some  
of them ryche and some pooze. For ye  
shall not lyghely here suche a tale goe a-  
bout, that suche a mannes house is vn-  
doone, because he hath not sowed euē: or  
because that he hath not well set or plan-  
ted his trees: or because he knewe not  
what ground was good for vines, he hath  
set his in a naughtie ground: or because  
he knew not, that it was good to folowe  
the ground before he did sowe it: or be-  
cause he knew no, y it was good to dounge  
it. But this ye may here often tymes be-  
ry well. This man getteth no croppe on  
his grounde this yere, For he hath made  
~~no provision~~ to get it sowed, or to gette it  
dounded. And agayne: this man getteth  
no wyne. For he nether careth to plante  
any vines in his grounde, nor seeth no-  
thyng to those that be already planted,  
to make them bryng forth some fruite.  
This man hath no oyle. This man hath  
no fygges: For he wyl take no payne nor  
apply his mynde to haue any. These be  
the causes good Socrates, that make one  
housband man to differ from another, &  
to be also vnylike in substance, & in riches;  
a great deale moze, thā if any of theim se-  
med to be experter in his woozkes & busi-  
nesses.

## xenophons treatise

nelles. And of the capitaines of war like  
wyse, there be many, y<sup>e</sup> which haue egal-  
ly good wytte & very good sight in suche  
thynges as do long to warre, & yet there  
be some of theim better, and some worse,  
and that is thzoughe the diuersitie of ta-  
kyng hede and of diligence. For suche  
thynges as all captaynes do know, and  
also the mosse parte of theim, that were  
never in that dignite, some capitaines do  
them & some not. As thus. Al thei know,  
that it is better for theim, that shal leade  
an armie thzough their enemies lande to  
marche forwarde in good order and ar-  
raye: that they maye be alway readye to  
fyght, if nede be. And yet some of theim  
that knowe this very well, do it, & some  
doe not. Also al they knowe that it is best  
to kepe watches and scoutwatches both  
by nyght and by day: And yet some of the  
se well so, that it be surely kept, and some  
do not. Agayne, whā they leade their ar-  
my thzough narrowe places, ye shall all  
mosse fynde none, but that he knoweth,  
it is better to preuente their enemies be-  
tymes than to late. And yet some of them  
do their diligence, that they may so doe,  
and some doe not. And likewyse of doun-  
gyng. Euery man sayeth, it is very good  
and



and necessary for the ground to dunge it. And they see, howe men may haue it both of beastes in his own kynde, and also fynde other meanes to haue it, & make easely very great deale thereof. And yet some take hede, that it be gethered, and some let it passe, and care not for it. Yet God sendeth rayne from aboue, and all maner of holowe grounde receiueth it, & kepeth it, and wareth a poudrell with it. The grounde bypnygeth forth all maner of weedes and naughey harlotry. And he that wyl sow, must first rydde & purge the grounde, and suche weedes & thynge as he gethereth out of the lande, if he cast them into the water, in proces of time, it wll be as good, and as holsome to the grounde, as any dounyng. For what weedes be there, or what grounde is it, that wyl not become dounge in verpe dede, if it be caste in to standyng water? More ouer what remedy is there, if the grounde be to weete to sow in it, or to sowe to set trees in it? Euery man knoweth, that the water must be boyded out by making of ditches and sloughes purposely therfore: and how the sourenes is minished & mitigated, if al maner of thinges, the which be not soure, whether thei

## Xenophons treatise

be drye or wete, be myngled therewith.  
And some housebandes take good heede  
to this, and some regarde it not. But if a  
mā know neuer a whit, what the ground  
will bryng forth, nor can se nother fruite  
nor tree in it, nor speke with no mā, that  
shall tell him the truche of it: is it not far  
a great deale easier to haue a proffe of it,  
than either of a horse or a man? For that  
that it sheweth, it is not shewed falselye  
and colorably but tyllid, it sheweth the  
very trouth, without any faining, what  
it can bryng forth, and what not. And for  
sothe me thynketh, that the ground doth  
best examine, which be good, and which  
be vntyriftie housebandes, in that that it  
setterh forth al maner of thyng so easy to  
be learned, and so soone to be knowen.  
For it is not in housebandry as it is in o-  
ther craftes, that they, the whiche do not  
worke, may excuse them selves, and saye,  
that they can not skyll to do it: but euery  
man knoweth, that if the ground be well  
tilled & housebandly hādled, it sheweth vs  
pleasure agayn for it. And suerly husbā-  
dry is it, that best moued a mans vnlusty  
corage and sluggish dispositiō. For there  
is no man can perswade him selfe, that a  
man can liue without such thinges as be  
necessary.



necessary. But he that hath no science, whereby he may get his lyving, noz wil not fal to housbandry: it is clere, he is either a starce foole, oz els he purposeth to gette his lyving by robbynge and stealing, oz els by beggynge. Moreover sayde he, it made greatly to the matter, concerning the gettyng oz losynge by housbandry, that whan they haue many labozers and seruantes, that the tone taketh good hede, that his wozkemen be sette to their worke in due season and tyme, and the tother doeth not. For that man is better than ten other, that falleth to his worke in season. And that man is farre worse than an other, the whiche suffereth his wozkemen to leaue their worke and goe their waye ouer tymely. And as for betwene him, that suffereth his wozkemen and labourers to tryfill away the day, & hym that wil not, there is as great difference, as betwene the hol worke finished and the halfe of it: Lykewyle as in iourneyng by the way in fyfty myle space, two men, whiche goe both one way, and though they be both as swyfte, as hole, as ponge, and as lussy, the tone as the tother: yet the tone shall ouer go the tother xvj. myle in a day, if the tone goeth on his

H. iij.

four.

## Xenophons treatise

journey lustily, and the tother for slouth  
and werishypng of him selfe, resteth by  
the way, besydes spynges and fountay  
nes, and seketh for shadowes and softe  
wyndes to refreshe him with. Likewise  
in workyng there is a great oddes, whā  
a man dooeth applie lustely his woork,  
and whan he doeth not, and rather syn  
deth excuses, why he should not woork,  
and suffereth his folke euery daie to try  
fle forth the tyme. And as for to woork  
well and diligently, or to woork naught  
and negligently, there is a great differēce  
betwene these two thinges, as is betwe  
ne him that worketh, and him that wor  
keth neuer a whitte. For whan they go  
about to clense the vines from wedes and  
harlottry, if they digge in such wise, that  
therby grow vp mo and greater wedes  
than didde before, why may it not be said  
that they were idle and wrought neuer a  
whyt. And therfore these be the thinges,  
by the whiche many mennes householdes  
be a great deale rather vndone, than for  
lacke of sciēce or of great knowlege. For  
a man that is at gret costes and charges  
in his house, and can not get as muche,  
nother by his rentes, nor his housban  
drie, as wyl fynde hym and his meyny,  
it is



it is no meruayle, yf in the stede of great  
pleyntye and riches, he fall into extreme  
pouertie. But vnto such men as wyl dy-  
lygentlye apply them selfe to husbandry,  
and increace theyr substance, and shor-  
tly ware riche therby, my father shewed  
some tyme a good pzecepte, the which al-  
so he taught vnto me. He counsayled me,  
that I shulde neuer by that grounde, the  
whiche hath beene wel laboured and til-  
led, but such a ground, as remayned vn-  
laboured and vntylled eyther throughe  
their negligence, that owned it, oz elles  
bycause they were not able to do it. For  
the ground that is wel tyllled and dyght,  
wyl cooste moche more money, and yet it  
is than euen at the beste: And the ground,  
that can ware no better, can not make a  
man to haue so much pleasure, and to re-  
ioyse so moche, as the tother doth, which  
wareth better and better. For he though  
that all maner of goodes, whether it be  
lande oz cattell, the whyche do encrease  
and ware better, causethe a man to haue  
more pleasure and ioye in it. And there  
is nothyng, that increaseth more than  
doth that ground, the whiche laye befoze  
vntylled and vndyghte, and nowe is wa-  
red good and fruteful. And be ye sure of  
thys

## Xenophons treatise

this good So. that we haue often tymes made much lande, that we haue bought, a great deale more worth than the price y<sup>t</sup> it was bought for at the fyrste. And this caste, that is not so notable, and so profitable, is so easie to lerne, y<sup>t</sup> now we ye haue ones harde it: ye can it as well as I, and maye teache it vnto other, yf ye lyst.

But as for my father, he neuer lerned it of none other man, nor neuer spent great study to fynde it oute: But bycause his mynde was greatly set vpon husbandry, and also he had a pleasure to labour, he sayd, he desyred to haue suche a ground, that bothe he myghte haue somewhat to do, and also that the profytte commynge of it, myghte reioyce hym. For me thynketh good Socrates, that of al the Atheniens, my fathers mynde was moste set vpon husbandry, euen of his owne nature. Socrates. And whan I hard that, I asked hym: whether dyd your father kepe styl to hym self any of it, if he coulde get muche money for it: Ischomachus. Yes mary, he did sell som of it now and than: & immediately after he wolde by another pyece, that lay vntilled and vndyghte, bycause his mynde was so muche set to labour and to husbandrye. Socrates.



crates. For sothe good Ischomachus, ye  
shewe me here a meruaylous desyre and  
affection, that your father hadde to hou-  
sebandrye, none other wyse as me thyn-  
kethe, than some marchauntes myndes  
be set vpon wheate. For marchaunte men  
by the reason that they herthes is soze fy-  
red vpon wheate, where so euer they here  
that ther is moste wheate, thither wyl  
they in anye wyse resorte, and wyl not  
fyrke for daunger to passe any sea what  
so euer it be. And whā they haue bought  
vp as moche ther of as they can get, they  
shyp it in the selfe same shyppe, that they  
sayle in them selfe, and so byrnyng it home.  
And whan they haue nede of money, I  
trow they do not sel it a way rashely, not  
caring in what place, as though they de-  
sired to be lyghtely dispatched therof: but  
they byrnyng it thether to sell, where they  
here, that wheate is at a great pryce, and  
where as men wolde very fayne haue it.  
Ischomach<sup>o</sup>. Wel Socrat. ye ieste with  
me: but yet me thinketh he longeth y<sup>e</sup> ma-  
sons crafte neuer the worse, that buildeth  
houses and selleth them, & maketh newe  
agayne afterwarde. Socrates. By my  
faythe I swere to you good Ischomac. I  
beleue you very well, in that ye thynke,  
that

## Xenophons treatise

that euery man loueth beste, and setteth  
his minde moste vpon that thyng, wher  
by he thynketh to get any great profyte.  
But now I consider in my mynde, how  
wel all your cōmunicaciō hath serued to  
the purpose and ground of this mattter.  
For your grounde and beginning was,  
that the science of husebandry is soneste  
and best lerned of all other sciences: And  
nowe by the reason of that, that ye haue  
sayde, I am vtterly perswaded, that it is  
so. Forsooth sayde Ischomachus, it is so in  
very dede. But as for that thyng that is  
egallye common to all mens dedes, whe  
ther it be in the exercise of husbandry, or  
in the orderynge of an house, or in the go  
uernynge of a cittle, or in the knowledge  
and science of feates of warre, I graunt  
you very well, that there be somme men,  
y haue a farre better witte, a farre better  
caste and policy, and knowe better howe  
to rule and cōmaund, than somme other  
doo. Lyke as in a galey whan they be on  
y sea and must dyue as farre with ores  
in a day as they shuld saile, there be some  
that be sette to comforte & courage theim  
the whyche haue so good grace bothe in  
their wordes and in theyr dedes, & they  
so quicken and encourage men, that thei  
laboure



laboure with al theyꝝ verve hertes. And there be other some so grosse and so rude, that they wyl betwixe as lōge in making of their vyage, as the tother were. And as for the tother, they come downe rushing mervly, sweatynge and preyng one an other. And as for these felowes they come downe lasterly, and they neuer sweate for y matter, they hate y mayster of the galey, and he again hateth them. And after the same maner there be some Capitaynes, that do differ one from an other. For there be some, that can not bring it to passe, to make theyꝝ souldiours glad to take payne, nor to put them selfe in ieopardye, but even verve than whan they can not chose, but they wyl rather lose them selfe, and take it for a gret pꝛeise, that they maye contrarie the. Capytaynes mynde, nor the capytaynes can not instruct them to be asshamed, yf any thyng misfortune, that is worthy of rebuke. But there be other, which be good, wyse, and polypke capytaynes, y which if they take in hande the selfe same men, or peradventure other, as they do often tymes, they wyl make them to be asshamed to do any thyng, that shoulde turne to theyꝝ rebuke, and to thynke that it is best

## Xenophons treatise

beste for theym, both to be obedyent eue-  
ry one of them by hym selfe, and whanne  
nede requireth to take peine, gladdely to  
do it all to gether with a very good wyll.  
And lykewyle as there be some pryuate  
men, the whiche of theyr own nature be  
glad to take labour and peyne, so a good  
capitaine engendzeth this affection in al  
his hostis mynde, that they be gladd to  
be put to peyne, and they coueyt nothing  
els so muche, as to be pzeysed for some  
great and notable acte, done in the syght  
of theyr capitayne. And what so euer ca-  
pytaines they be, that haue such men of  
warre vnder theym, beryng to the ward  
so good mynde and fauour, I saye they  
in very dede be myghty and stronge: and  
not they, the which haue a great myghty  
bodey, and can throwe a darte, and hote  
very well: Nor they that haue good hor-  
ses, and can runne with a speare and iu-  
ste afore any man: but they that can bzing  
their souldiours in to suche affection and  
beleue, y they wolde gladly folow theym  
throug fyre and water, and throug all  
maner of daunger. Suche men may wel  
be called hardy and valyaunte, that haue  
so manybolde men redy and pzeast to doe  
what so euer they commaunde. And it  
may



may wel be saied, that he goeth forwarde  
wyth a myghty stronge hande, that hath  
so many handes folowynge hym ready at  
his pleasure. And he maye be called a ve-  
ry great man in dede, the which doth ve-  
ry great actes, more by prudence & wyse-  
dome, than throughe the strenght of his  
bodye. More ouer, whether he be a deby-  
tte or a ruler, that can make men redye &  
gladde to applye theyr worke, and bzing  
them to contynue wel in it, they be those  
that shal sonest gette goodes, and grow  
to greatte substance. And as for the mai-  
ster, if he be such a man, that can wel pu-  
nysh the labourers, that do nought, and  
reward them that do very wel, yet whan  
he comethe to the workes, yf the labou-  
ers do make no shewe of it, I wyll not  
set greatlye by hym: but he, the whyche  
whan they do se hym, they be all moued  
and stirred vp, and haue a grette coura-  
ge and desyer one to do better than an o-  
ther, and a feruente mynde to be preyssed  
aboue al, I say, that that man hath some  
thyng of the dysposycyon longynge to  
a kynge. And me thynkethe it is a very  
great point in all maner of thinges, y be  
done by the helpe of men, as well as it is  
in

## Xenophons treatise

in housebādry. And to obteyne it, veryply  
I wyl not saye, as I haue doen in house-  
bandry, that a mā shal lerne it, yf he ones  
seeth it, or hereth it tolde. But I saye, he  
that wyl be able to doe it, had nede to be  
very wel instruct, and eke to be of a good  
gentyl nature, and that is mooste of all, to  
haue a very great grace and gyft of god.  
For me thinketh, this grace cometh not  
al of manne, to rule and gouerne so, that  
men veryp gladly will be obediēt, but it is  
rather a speciall gyft of almyghty god, &  
graunteth it vnto thesm that be indowed  
with vertus and temperaunce. But to  
rule men tyz annouselfe agaynst theyr  
willes, he putteth theym vnto it (as me  
seemeth) that he iudgeth worthy, as  
they say, that Tantalus dy-  
ueth forth the tyme in  
hel beyng alwaye  
aferde to dye  
twyse.

FINIS.

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